NATIONAL ANTI-SLAVERY STANDARD.

Without Concealment-----Without Compromise.

VOLUME IV.—NO. 27. NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, DECEMBER 7, 1843. WHOLE NUMBER 183.

PUBLISHED WEEKLY,

BY THE

AMERICAN ANTI-SLAVERY SOCIETY,

At 143, Nassau Street, New-York.

DAVID LEE CHILD, Editor.

☞ All remittances, and letters relating to the pecuniary concerns of the paper, should be addressed to ISAAC T. HOPPER.

TERMS.—$2,00 a year, in advance; $2,50 if not paid within six months.

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H. N. HENRY, PRINTER.

The Standard.

BRITISH WEST INDIA EMANCIPATION.

An Address, delivered at Northampton, on the 1st day of August, 1843.

BY WILLIAM ADAM.

We have assembled, this day, to celebrate the abolition of slavery in the British West Indies—to rejoice with our fellow-men, and fellow-citizens, who have met in other parts of the world, for the same purpose, and to confer with each other, on the various topics which that important event suggests. Every successive year places us in a better position to judge, impartially, and soundly, both of the principles which it involves, and of the effects which it has produced. In the earlier stages of the change, the heat, and struggle of controversy, and the collisions of interest, the ardent hopes of its friends, the fierce denunciations and forebodings of its enemies, and the doubts, even of the wise and disinterested observer; the solemn appeals of the philanthropist, and the crafty representations of the politician—all in their joint and conflicting operation, tended to obscure the perceptions of many, and to lessen their confidence in the conclusions of their own sober and unbiassed reason. The lapse of time, and the progress of events, our increasing distance from that period of excitement, and our increasing proximity to the period for the full development of the consequences of the Emancipation Act, have removed this haze from our moral atmosphere, and should enable us to perceive, with more distinctness, the objects presented to our view. Let us endeavor, in the exercise of a calm and dispassionate judgment, to avail ourselves of the more favorable situation which we now occupy, and of the more ample information which is now within our reach, to confirm or correct the opinions we had previously formed.

On the modes, processes, and conditions of emancipation, the mistakes that may have been committed, the dangers that may have been incurred, and the results that may have been obtained—on these and other collateral questions, it is peculiarly important to the people of these United States, that they should seek all the light which the experience of others may supply. Slavery, unhappily inherited from colonial times, has been perpetuated under this great and powerful republic. It has been intimately interwoven with the other institutions of the country, and has grown with their growth, and strengthened with their strength, until, at last, it seems to be doubtful, whether the attempt to remove the evil, can succeed, except by the disruption of that union, hitherto held sacred and dear to all, and whether it can fail, without involving, not only the permanence of slavery in the South, but also, at the same time, and as a necessary consequence, the practical extinction of the civil and political liberties of the North—evils on both sides, to which none can be compared, in magnitude, and which it requires the highest wisdom, and the purest devotion to the public good, the firmest adherence to principle, and the largest experience of human affairs, to avert. [The discussion of this question, if it has not reached a crisis, seems verging towards one, and it is for the good and the true, of all parties, and all sects, as well as those of no party and no sect, the honest and the patriotic, of all interests, and of all conditions, who not only love their country, but who also perceive how much the welfare of the world at large, depends on the purity and efficiency, in which the principles of liberty are maintained therein—it is for all, instead of wasting their energies, in convulsive efforts, in mutual recriminations, or neglecting a high duty, in idle apathy, or silent contempt, to shake off the delirium of excitement, and awake from the slumber of indifference—to unite and consult with each other, as men and brethren, for the common good, and to devise the most effectual means of preventing the continuance of a great and acknowledged national crime, and the occurrence of equally great and impending national dangers. For this purpose, one of the most obvious preliminary means that may be usefully employed to produce a calm, reflective, and practical state of mind, true to principles, and true to facts, and to teach the head to think, and the heart to feel, rightly, on this momentous subject, is to free ourselves, as far as possible, at least for a time, from the influences of local passions and interests; to extend our observations and reflections, to other times, and other countries, and to study past history, and the record of contemporary events, bearing on this question. It is true, that no time or country is like any other time or country; that circumstances always differ; and that, without due caution, we are exposed to error, in drawing inferences from one class of circumstances, to another class, very diverse. This is true; but it is also true, that in the exercise of a sound judgment, we may distinguish essential principles, from the mere circumstances by which they are surrounded, and that it is precisely by this process, and by no other, that we are enabled to derive instruction, for future guidance, from the facts, both of history and experience. If we can do what every one, more or less does, disengage our minds from the peculiar circumstances of our own position, and from the age and country to which we belong, and look abroad for instruction, by reflection on the manners, the morals, and the institutions of other times and countries, why may we not, when we have thus projected ourselves, amid foreign scenes and associations, still further disengage our minds from circumstances which had no original or habitual hold upon them, and return, enriched with fruitful principles, capable of a salutary application, to new and independent circumstances?] It is in the spirit of these views, that I now propose to examine the leading characteristics, conditions, and effects of the abolition of slavery, in the British West Indies. I seek to separate the fundamental principles, on which that measure was based, from the local and temporary circumstances of those colonies; to try them by the sacred and permanent standards of truth and justice, and humanity, and to inquire what warnings of evils to be avoided, what instructions, regarding duties to be performed, we may derive from both sources.

1. The first characteristic of this great event, to which I solicit your attention, is, that it is only one of a series of moral and social revolutions which this age has witnessed, is witnessing, and is destined to witness. It does not stand alone. It was preceded, it is accompanied, and it will be followed, by events, not the same in their details, but similar in their origin, their tendencies, and their consequences; and, it is only by viewing it in this relation, that we can appreciate its real nature and importance, and even understand our own position in the grand and solemn march of past and present, and coming changes. Change—never-ceasing change, is, at once, the condition of all imperfect natures; and the ever-renewed development of the creative energies of the divine mind; and, in the mighty stream of events, which constitutes the course of Divine Providence, all that exists, has an indissoluble connection with all that has gone before, and with all that will come after. Every feeling and thought, of every human mind, every act of the life, every object in nature, and every occurrence in time, enters into the aggregate of the effects that have been produced by the operation of past causes, and into the aggregate of the causes that are now in operation, to produce other effects. Nothing exists by itself. No being is isolated from all other beings. No event is disconnected from all other events. All are bound together, in the most beautiful and attractive relations, at once consistent with the freedom of human volitions, the progressiveness of our nature, and the perfection of the divine government. Thus, the history of the world becomes a history of revolutions; not sudden, abrupt, and dislocated movements, which can be explained by no definite reasons, and traced to no definite causes, although they may often wear this aspect to the inattentive observer; but revolutions that arise by a direct and inevitable moral necessity, from the order of events by which they are preceded. In these changes, as the Infinite mind presides over the whole, so, under that Supreme influence and control, the mind of man is the great instrumentality employed in their accomplishment. Every individual mind is a microcosm, the seat of revolutions, often imperceptible to the world, and of which the subject of them, is himself, sometimes unconscious; revolutions in opinion and principle, in conduct, and character. Without these individual revolutions, none on the great scale could take place; for the former supply the materials and the motive powers by which the latter are effected; and hence, in the greatest of human affairs, the importance of the individual, however in himself humble and insignificant—for in every given case the final result is made up by individual contributions, determined by the comprehensiveness of individual intellect, the energy of individual will, and the purity of individual motives.

If we ascend from the individual to the race, and analyze the elements of which it is composed, and the events which constitute its history, we shall find that the revolutions to which human affairs are subject, may be conveniently classed under three distinct denominations—revolutions of opinion, revolutions of government, and revolutions of society. Although it is the last with which we are now chiefly concerned, yet I have mentioned all three; because, while they differ in their origin, nature, and objects, they are yet, often auxiliary to each other, and coincident in their effect. The philosopher, in the privacy of his closet, works out revolutions of *opinion*, by the doctrines which he promulgates; and hence, in every civilized age and country, the schools of philosophy that form the general mind, give a tone and bias to public sentiment, modify the prevalent belief, and infuse a new spirit into established institutions. No one, who has traced the intimate connection between philosophy and life, between thought and practice, can doubt the immense power which has been thus wielded, sometimes for good, and sometimes for evil. Statesmen and politicians, the ambitious and the discontented, by means of party and faction, intrigue and cabal, from the love of power, and with a view to personal advantage, and sometimes, also, it may be hoped, from the love of right, and with a view to the general good, produce revolutions of *government*; and, it is in the hands of this class of men, that the direction of national affairs is placed. But there is a third class of revolutions—the *moral* revolutions of *society*, and a third class of persons, who produce them, call them by what name you will—religionists, philanthropists, visionaries, enthusiasts, or fanatics. The philosopher aims to enlighten the intellect, and indulges in deep-searching, abstract speculation. The politician seeks to protect the material interests, and improve the physical well-being of man; and expediency—the expediency of the hour, or of the day, is the rule of his conduct. The moral revolutionist does not neglect abstract, speculative truth, for he bases his efforts and his aims on the eternal principles of right, and on the divinely-established laws of universal order. Neither does he neglect the temporal happiness of his fellow-creatures; for, wherever there is suffering, there is he found to sympathize and relieve, and wherever there is oppression, there does he stand, between the oppressor and the oppressed, with equal pity for both, to vindicate for the one against the other, the claims of immutable justice. He does not neglect either of these objects, but it is the moral nature of man that he primarily respects. It is the moral nature of man that supplies him with his governing principles and motives. It is that nature which he specially seeks to rescue from ignorance, and vice, and degradation, and to elevate, refine, and purify. Christianity is the great means for effecting these moral revolutions; for, it is the only religion that has laid its foundations deep and immovable in the moral nature of man, and contemplates the regeneration of that nature, as its grand and ultimate object. In heathen countries, there are military conquerors, there are profound philosophers, there are wise statesmen, and prudent politicians; but in countries where Christianity is unknown, where are the moral reformers to be found? This is like asking for Christians, where there is, confessedly, no Christianity. Hence, the moral affinity of all genuine philanthropists, with christianity. They find in it the very aliment of their souls—the Archimedes'-lever with which they can move the world. Christianity, and the reform of all the moral evils of society, are then, not different, but the same. To Christianize the world, in the true and full sense of the word, is to revolutionize it, morally; and all Christians who understand the nature, and imbibe the spirit of their religion, are the moral and social revolutionists of their age and country.

Christianity has been effecting a moral revolution in the world, for upwards of eighteen hundred years, and it is still carrying on the process of revolution in every successive century and generation, with accelerated force. The emancipation of the British West Indies, was only one scene in the great drama, important in itself, nay, possessing a singular and unique moral grandeur and beauty, elevated above any other event of the same class, that had preceded it, and yet, in the sober convictions of my mind, destined to be over-shadowed by other similar events, which even we may be permitted to behold. Without going further back, let us look at the revolution that, within the last three quarters of a century, has taken place in the moral sense of mankind, and in the moral character and policy of nations on the subject of the slave-trade. When Granville Sharpe first took the case of the slave Somersett, into a British court of justice, the slave-trade was a recognized and honorable branch of the commerce of every civilized and Christian nation, unquestioned, and held to be unquestionable on any ground of public or private morality. And what is it now? It is saying little, it is saying nothing to the purpose, to say that the law of these same nations has pronounced that same trade, felony and piracy, and is carrying on a crusade against it, with a view to its utter extinction. It is saying something more, if I affirm, what your observation will attest, that if all the laws against the slave-trade were blotted from the statute-books of nations, such is the moral revolution that has taken place in the sentiments of mankind, only men who are even now nothing better than felons and pirates in heart, would engage in the hellish traffic. And what was it that produced this miraculous change? Was it the philosopher, by his erudite speculations, or the statesman, by his sinuous policy, or the conqueror, with the implements of war? All these did nothing, or worse than nothing, or failed in what they attempted to do. The change has been produced by Christian men and women, in the use of Christian means, by struggle and effort, by contest and controversy, by speaking and writing, by lecturing and preaching, in season, and out of season—by men who, in their day, were hooted and hunted, who had trials of cruel mockings and scourgings, yea, moreover, of bonds and imprisonment—who were destitute, afflicted, tormented, whose persons were maltreated, and whose lives were endangered. It is these men, by the inherent and irresistible force of moral truth and justice, without rank, or title, or power, or privilege, or this world's honors, or emoluments, that have controlled and directed the policy of the whole circle of Christian and even Mahommadan nations; and what is of deeper importance, it is these men who have wrought, and are still working a change in the moral sentiments, and judgments, and acts of the present, and of all future generations. And yet, with all this, how imperfect the result that has been attained! The slave-trade has not ceased; nay, it has doubled and trebled in extent. I need but suggest to you, how much more it would have extended, but for this counteracting influence. Still, this influence has only checked the evil, not annihilated it. It has renovated and purified the moral principles of mankind on this subject; and yet the practical evil remains the same, and is even greater than it was.

This was the revolution, we see at once how important and how imperfect, that constituted the moral preparation for the British West India Emancipation, both more definite in its aim, and more complete in its results. The improving morality of Christendom first sought the regulation of the slave-trade, and finding all mere regulation futile, next its entire suppression. Acquiring clearer and still clearer moral perceptions, men began to look into the state of slavery itself, and demanded its regulation, and here, also, finding all regulation vain, and inoperative, they next demanded its abolition. In this case, as in the former, there was a vast expenditure of effort, and toil, and travail; a mighty uprousing, and a terrible conflict of human passions and interests, and, after a vigorous and uncompromising warfare, in which quarter was neither given nor taken, the right prevailed, and the result was a measure which, for the greatness and simplicity of the principle which it involves, and for the magnitude of the consequences which it has produced, and must produce, is conspicuous above all the moral revolutions that belong to our times. A nation was born in a day. In a single day, eight hundred thousand human beings were transformed from property into persons, from live-stock, into enfranchised members of civil society; possessing all the rights, and amenable to all the duties and obligations of religious, moral, and social beings—an act of creative power which not only transforms things into men, but also men into gods; for what but the godlike attributes that belong to man—attributes and qualities of character that emanate from the Deity, and partake of his nature—could perform an act so majestic and sublime, morally grand and glorious? And yet do we not deceive ourselves here? And is not this only a one-sided view of the facts of the case? Was it not the cruel, avaricious, and fiendish passions of man, that first defaced, or sought to deface and blot out the image of God in his fellow-man? And notwithstanding the unholy efforts thus made for so diabolical a purpose, did not that image still remain, tarnished and obscured indeed, but distinct and indestructible in all its essential features and lineaments? And was not all that man could do, only to undo what he had already foully and basely done—to remove the yoke from the enslaved, and to let the oppressed go free; and having done this—having undone his own doings, as far as it is possible for weak man to limit the evil effects of his own crimes—to repent before God and man, in sackcloth and in ashes, for his past misdeeds? O, there is no room for boasting! for while we cannot, and must not, forget that our nature allies us with the Infinite and Eternal Spirit, who has breathed into us the breath of life, and made us living souls, neither must we forget that it is we who have made this nature vile, and of no account in ourselves and others, and that the great end of all moral effort, is to restore the image of God in man to its pristine beauty and excellence. Viewed in this light, the West India Emancipation was a great event, a momentous revolution, a gigantic stride in the onward march of humanity, towards the goal that lies before it—an event in which the whole moral creation of God, visible and invisible, rejoices with joy unspeakable, and full of glory.

This great triumph of truth and righteousness, was not untainted by political cabal and compromise, as I shall have occasion to show; but the moral revolutions that have accompanied and followed it, although in some respects less imposing, are, for the most part, of a purer and more unmixed character. I shall merely refer to the most prominent of these, not as approving, without qualification of all the means that have been employed, and all the conclusions that have been reached by others, but regarding them as signs of the times, and as examples of the sort of influences that are destined more and more to rule society. Look, for instance, at the efforts that are made by enlightened men in both hemispheres, to bring the modes, the practices, and the habits of life, in regard to eating and drinking, sleeping, and clothing, labor, and exercise, into conformity with the laws of nature, and of man's constitution. Can any one deny the flagrant errors that have been, and are, daily commited in these respects, or doubt the intimate connection between the correction of these errors, and the moral well-being of man? Look again at the temperance movement, which has fixed a deep-seated and wide-spread horror of war in the minds of men, and has contributed more than any other one cause to the prolonged preservation of peace among nations with hostile interests and pretensions. Look at the ameliorations of the criminal codes of nations, the improvement of prison discipline, and the gradual disuse of capital punishment, all of which have been affected by the moral force of public sentiment and opinion; and still further, at the non-resistance movement, which, if it did nothing more than show in a peculiar form, and with peculiar zeal and energy, the superior value of moral and religious objects, and the superior efficacy of moral and religious means over those that are material and compulsory, worldly, and political, would perform a great and useful mission to the world. Look at the increased attention given to education, and especially to physical, industrial, artistic, and moral education, in contradistinction from that which is merely learned, scientific, intellectual, and sectarian—to the education of woman, to the rights that belong to her, to her true position in society, and to the vast influence which she exerts on its welfare. Look at the increased honor given to labor, the increased attention to the rights and interests of the laboring man, the efforts that are made in various forms, without sacrificing the rights of property or the relations of domestic life, to unite the laborer and the capitalist, the poor and the rich, in mutual co-operation, in equal rights, and in common advantages, instead of any longer regarding each other with a jealous eye, grudging each what the other gets or takes, inflamed with secret and mutual distrust and hatred, and uttering against each other curses not loud but deep. Finally, look at the progress that has been made in the regeneration of the public mind on the subject of slavery throughout the world—at England, not only emancipating her slaves, but with a paternal eye watching over her freed men, and protecting them against their former owners—at America, at last, beginning to open her eyes to the fact that she is a world's wonder, not for her liberty, but for her slavery—at Great Britain, after an absolute dominion of nearly 80 years in India, beginning to regulate slavery on the continent of that country, and actually abolishing it in Penang, Singapore, and Malacca, on the Malagar Peninsula—at Tunis, with a prompt and despotic hand, abolishing first her slave-trade, and then her slavery—at France, with a feeble, timid, and compromising policy, providing far in the distance for the abolition of hers—at Russia, with a faltering will, attempting to abolish her great system of serfage—and last not least of all, at Brazil, at Cuba, and at the southern States of this Union, trembling for their peculiar institution, and clinging with maniac grasp to the monster that is eating out their vitals.

Look at all these events and prospects in the past and present, and future moral history of the world, and you will at once perceive the truth of the allegation with which I set out, that British West India Emancipation is only one of a series of moral and social revolutions, belonging to the present age—that it is not an isolated and detached fact, to be viewed simply in itself—that it derives its importance not only from its inherent moral beauty and grandeur, as the gift of liberty to numerous communities of men, but as one link in a vast chain of similar triumphs for humanity—that it has both antecedents and consequents which communicate to it, and receive from it, increased value—and that with all the confidence that can be reposed in the progressive character of our nature, of our race, of our age, and of our religion; and in the progressive development of humanity, and justice, and truth, we have a right to anticipate other and still grander events of the same description. With such well-founded anticipations, can we fail to recollect the situation of this country in relation to slavery, or to infer the obligations that are imposed upon us? We are surrounded by a great cloud of witnesses. We are hemmed in on every side by events occurring in every quarter of the globe, forcing on the progress of society, by an inevitable necessity, and gradually singling out the American people, hitherto boastful of their free institutions, and of their attachment to the sacred cause of freedom, as the chief supports of the accursed system of slavery. The question is, not whether slavery shall be abolished. The decree of God has gone forth, and all the influences of society are conspiring against it. Natural justice, moral truth, Christian mercy, and national policy, alike demand its extinction. Interest and passion may resist, but all the powers of earth cannot long delay, or wholly prevent it. The only question is, Shall we, the men and women of this people and generation—we, of this town and congregation—we, with reason to think, with hearts to feel, with mouths to speak, and with hands to act—shall we side with the true or with the false, with the right or with the wrong, with the oppressed or with the oppressor, with God or with man? This is the question, the whole question, and the only question; and it is for us now—here—at this time, and in this place—to determine, in the depths of our own souls, and before an all-searching and all-knowing God, whether we shall help to perpetuate the embodiment of sin, and crime, and vice, and misery, to be found in slavery—or sit down in contented apathy and selfish indifference to our own guilt and the guilt of others, and to the degradation and suffering which that guilt produces—or, in this, the day and the hour of *our* effort and struggle, that tries men's souls, ere yet the victory is achieved, while we yet wrestle, not against flesh and blood, but against principalities, against powers, against the rulers of the darkness of this world, against spiritual wickedness in high places; while we yet *only believe* that the triumph is certain, and know that we may fall before it is accomplished, with cheerful devotion and self-sacrifice throw ourselves into the heat of the battle, and with unwavering eye and heart, in the name of God, who is true and no liar, and of man, whom he has made immortal, and no beast or chattel, contend manfully against the enemies of both.

2. Returning to the history of the Emancipation Act, and to the instruction that may be derived from it, I have now to remark that the slaveholding, or as it was, and is called in England, the West India interest, was uniformly and consistently opposed to the extinction of slavery and to all its ameliorations, and to the suppression of the slave-trade, and to all *its* ameliorations. While the slave-trade was legal, the number of slaves in proportion to the tonnage of the vessel, the employment of a physician on board every slaver, and various other details, were from time to time prescribed, with a view to the preservation of human life. All were uncompromisingly opposed by the West India interest, and of course the abolition of the traffic itself, with still greater determination. Again, while slavery was legal the attempt was made to regulate it also. The hours and days of labor were prescribed, the kinds, degrees, modes, and instruments of punishment, food, clothing, and instruction. The whipping of females was prohibited, marriage was encouraged, and protectors were appointed to hear the complaints of slaves, and to judge between them and their masters. Every change favorable to the slave was opposed, and the proposal to abolish slavery itself, raised a storm of indignation which seemed to threaten the dissolution of the connection between Great Britain and her West India Colonies, while the fact was, that England would have had only to withdraw her troops peaceably, to place the planters at the absolute mercy of their own slaves. It is impossible to shut our eyes on the parallel case which exists amongst ourselves. There is one important difference. Great Britain, through her secretary for the colonies, could legislate for the crown colonies, which have no local legislatures, and could control the legislation of those which have legislative assemblies of their own. In this country, the free States do not possess the power, or claim the right, to legislate for the slave States; but this difference only tends more fully to develop the original and unshackled tendencies of slavery and slaveholding. For what is the fact? It is that the slaveholding States of this union have not introduced into their systems of slavery any of those mitigations which public opinion has from time to time compelled the monarchies and despotisms of Europe to introduce into their slave colonies; and that on the contrary, there are regulations in those States which aggravate the burden and curse of slavery, and which were and are unknown in the European colonies; while it is well known to you that the opposition of the South to emancipation partakes more of the nature of a lawless and revengeful frenzy, than of a calm and rational dislike. The question, therefore, suggested by the opposition of the West India interest, to the Emancipation Act, and of the South to abolition is, What influence is legitimately due to the opinions of a class of men deeply and bigotedly interested in the perpetuity of an acknowledged abuse? The question would seem to answer itself; and yet it is so constantly and obtrusively assumed, that slaveholders and the slaveholding States are the sole and exclusive judges of slavery, and that no others have any right of interference, that it may seem worth while, in the briefest manner, to inquire into the validity of this pretension.

If those who are interested in an abuse, are the only proper judges of its disuse or continuance, then it is evident, both from experience and theory, that there is an end to all improvement and reform, and that, at the command of slaveholders, *et id genus omne*, God's moral government of his rational creatures must be estopped. Society has attained the utmost limit of human perfection under that government, and slaveholding is that limit which must not be passed. If England had consulted the wishes of slaveholders, slavery, with all its infamies, would still exist in her colonies, and the slave-trade, with all its atrocities, would be a legal and honorable, as well as a lucrative, and many would still attempt to show, even a moral and Christian traffic. Slaveholders are interested in the maintenance of slavery. They have inherited or purchased their slaves, and are dependent upon them for the luxuries and the comforts of life, for themselves and their families, for house, food, raiment, the means of education, their position in society, and even the political franchises which they exercise; and does not all this entitle them to some weight in determining the question of slavery, or no slavery? Who doubts or disputes it? No one desires or assumes that the question should be decided without a full and distinct consideration of every interest, the smallest as well as the greatest, the lowest as well as the highest, involved in it. The measure of interest then, is the measure of the right of interference; and are there no other interests concerned, except those of slaveowners? Place the interests of 250,000 slaveholders in one scale, and the interests of 2,500,000 slaves in the other, and judging by the sole standard of interest, tell me which side will kick the beam. What! Will slave-owners and their friends, while resting their cause on the degree of interest they have in the continuance of slavery, be guilty of such a sheer want of common sense, as to overlook what appears on the very surface of the question—that deep and weighty, and exciting, as is their own interest in favor of slavery, there is a deeper, and weightier, and more exciting interest still, arrayed against it? To the slave it is not houses and lands, luxuries and comforts, social position and political rights, that are at stake. It is the right he has in his own person, in his thews and sinews, in his body and soul, in his wife and children, and their rights in their own bodies and souls. And will men, who have even only a feeble and glimmering spark of freedom, or the love of freedom in their composition, allow slaveholders in their reasonings, to assume the very question in dispute, and to take for granted the non-existence of this vast and absorbing counter-interest, at the very moment that they are resting their own pretensions on the ground of interest alone? But slaveholders do not rest their pretensions on the ground of interest alone. The West India slaveholders had not an interest only, but a vested interest in their slaves—an interest protected and guaranteed by express parliamentary enactments; and to the same effect, the slaveholders in the South stand upon the fact that each State is sovereign by its own right—that no free State has the right of interference with the municipal institutions of any slave State; and that, moreover, the Constitution of the Union has recognized and sanctioned slavery. It is not my province at this time, and in this place, to discuss the political aspects of the question, which, however, appear to me very plain and simple, when viewed in the light of fundamental and incontrovertible principles. I will only remark in passing, that if in any social, state, or national compact, there is a clear and inevitable contradiction between the rights of two classes, whether slaves and their masters, slaveholders and non-slaveholders, or slaveholding States, and non-slaveholding States, this alone is an indisputable proof that there is something rotten at the core, that there is something insecure in the foundation, that some false principle has been introduced which must be sought out, and extirpated for the safety and good of the whole. Leaving, however, the dead to bury their dead, let us look at the question in larger and wiser relations than those which are merely local, national, and political. I ask, then, can any parliamentary or congressional enactment, any State or national compact, repeal any one of the laws of God, or annul the eternal distinction between justice and injustice? No one who is in his senses, and understands the question, will answer it in the affirmative; and if it must be answered in the negative, then all human laws and constitutions in support of slavery, are by that negation reduced to a mere nullity. The truth is, that every man, who *is* a man, acts spontaneously and unconsciously on this principle without teaching, and in spite of all control. If law or force were to make you or me a slave, should we feel bound to submit to the injustice? If law were to prohibit us from feeding the hungry and clothing the naked, could it suppress the feelings of humanity in our bosom, or stifle the word and deed of charity? Whence arose that sympathy which was felt and expressed by the civilized world in the cause of the Greeks, and which is now felt and expressed in the cause of the Irish, but from that love of freedom which burns, and will burn, in every heart, in opposition to all laws devised by man's head or written by his hand? Talk of the omnipotence of parliament, and the sacredness of the constitution! Is parliament more powerful than God? Is the constitution more sacred than His Eternal Laws?

There is still another ground, on which it is conceivable that a claim may be advanced for the slaveholder to be left alone, to pronounce on the continuance, or discontinuance, of slavery. Slavery is a sin; but, like every other sin, it may be said, it has its root in the soul of man; and to reform it thoroughly, the reform must begin in the mind of the slaveholder; for, without such an origin, the mere external abolition of slavery, would leave him subject to the inherent law of tyranny, and the depravities which it engenders. Slaveholders are also spoken of, as Christian men and women, subject to Christian hopes and fears, sensibilities and convictions, and capable of being affected by the motives and influences of Christian love; mistaken indeed, and misjudging in their adherence to slavery, but honest in their purposes, honorable in their conduct, the unfortunate victims of position and of circumstances, the objects more of pity than of condemnation, and open to reproof, if convicted of wrong. God forbid, that any erring fellow-being, who is willing to hear, should be addressed in any other spirit than that of sincere regard, and deep sympathy. But, whether he hear, or whether he forbear to hear, he must be told, above all things, to do justly, and to love mercy, before he can hope to be accepted, as walking humbly with God; to awake to righteousness, and sin not, without which, all real and living knowledge of God, is impossible. Those who speak of him, and to him, differently, pronounce his, and their own condemnation, for they show that they regard religion as consisting in words, not in deeds; in a profession, not in a life. The mind of the slaveholder, like the mind of every other human being, is a deep, which God only can fathom. What his motives and palliations, what the degree of his knowledge or ignorance, how far his knowledge will inculpate, or his ignorance excuse him—all this is unknown to us. But this we do know, that his relations to his fellow-man are unjust, and that the very beginning of all religion, is to depart from iniquity—that the very first, most attenuated, and obscurest ray of heavenly light that penetrates the mind, if it is indeed heavenly, teaches truth, justice, and mercy; and that, if these are wanting, then all else is wanting. A step, if in the right direction, although taken in the dark, is still, a step in advance; and, until the first step is taken, there can be no progress. Until this first step is taken, until there is a total, practical separation from, and abandonment of, this great sin against God, and crime against man, he must be regarded as one whose moral vision is darkened and diseased—who cannot be deemed qualified to prescribe for his own maladies, and much less competent to control the temporal condition, and the moral and religious destinies, of those over whom he exercises an usurped dominion.

Upon the whole, it appears, from the very nature of the case, as well as from actual experience, that if there is any desire to banish this enormity from the face of the earth, efforts must be made by the friends of the slave, wholly irrespective of the slaveholder, and his friends, of their moral and intellectual obtuseness, their threats and maledictions, their opposition and persecutions, their misapprehensions, and misrepresentations. They must be regarded as deaf, if not dumb; as diseased in mind, if not in body; and they must be treated with the affection, but, at the same time, with the uncompromising firmness, due to unreasonable patients. They are contending, not against us, but against the moral order of God's universe; all his perfections are arrayed against them; and, to perpetuate their system of slavery, they must not only unsoul man, but undeify the world.

3. A prominent feature of the Emancipation Act, was a gift of £20,000,000 to the slaveholders; and, the instruction to be derived from this fact, cannot be duly appreciated, without considering the opposite influences which led to the emancipation of the slaves, and to the bestowal of this gift—a branch of the subject which is much, and generally misunderstood. The people of England, in contradistinction from its government, were the authors of the emancipation. It was the moral conviction, and religious conscience, of a great people, that refused any longer, to bear the horrid incubus of slavery, their responsibility for which, although existing in a different hemisphere, they did not disclaim. The people, on this subject, spoke with a clearness, and depth of tone, and with an energy of purpose, which could neither be misunderstood, nor resisted; and the ministers of the crown, not as the leaders of the people, which their position and professions required them to be, but as the abject followers of the people, which all mere politicians invariably are, saw that there was no longer any paltering with this expression of the public sentiment, and that they must provide for the final, and total extinction of slavery. The people offered no compensation. They did not dream of such a thing as compensation to the injurious, instead of the injured party. They would have refused it as one man, if the proposition had been submitted to them. They would have resisted it as one man, if the provision had not been carried by a treacherous *coup de main*. Even the ministry did not dare, in the first place, to propose a formal compensation; but the first provision that was introduced into Parliament, with the sanction of the cabinet, was, that a *loan* of £16,000,000 should be made to the West India proprietors, to enable them to sustain the transition from slavery to freedom; in support of which, various considerations, tending to excite sympathy and compassion towards the slaveholders, were advanced, and when the wedge was thus entered, it was driven home, and the provision for a loan of £16,000,000, was, by a nefarious political manœuvre, suddenly transmuted into a gift of £20,000,000! The explanation of this, is not far to be sought. The West India interest is a numerous, wealthy, compact, and powerful body, having ramifications in most of the other great monopoly-interests—the East India interest, the shipping interest, the landed interest, and capable of materially influencing by its votes, in both houses of parliament, the balance of political parties, and the success or failure of political measures. It embraces many of the principal mercantile firms of London, and many of the aristocratic families of the country, who, while their patrimonial estates are mortgaged, or entailed, are dependent, in a great measure, upon the returns from their West India properties, for the means of maintaining themselves in hollow splendor and luxury. An English ministry is always the mere creature of contending factions and interests. The whig ministry of that day, always feeble and vacillating in its own purposes, was never strong in the house of lords, and was even then, beginning to lose ground, both in the commons, and among the people. It was felt that the West India interest must be conciliated, and, if necessary, bought. An attempt was made to bribe them, with a loan of sixteen millions; but when they stood out for better terms, the whig ministers were content to be the agents, in filching twenty millions from the pockets of the people, to put them into the hands of slaveowners, who had been, hitherto, living on the fruits of injustice, in order to purchase their reluctant support of a measure, which has in fact doubled and trebled the value of their West India estates. Yet, with all this slimy corruption, the ministers of the crown had some lurking regard for decency and truth. They were obliged to abandon the idea of a loan, and they could not call it compensation, to which they knew the planters were not entitled. They called it a gift, that is, as in plainer language, I have styled it, a bribe, the purchase-money, for their support to the whig ministers and measures, and for their acquiescence in the restoration of stolen property—stolen, and long unjustly appropriated by themselves—to its rightful owners. This was a becoming termination of the connection of slaveholders with slavery. It was fit, and proper, and in good and consistent keeping, that all those who had trafficked in the bodies of men, should bring their career, in this capacity, to a close, by selling to the highest bidder, their own mean, and paltry, and huckstering souls! Away, then, with the pretense, that this measure of justice, the act of emancipation, derives any part of its greatness or glory, from the voluntary compensation granted by the people of England, to the slave-owners! Such a pretense, is only adding fraud to robbery. The sum was exacted from them without their consent, and almost without their knowledge; certainly without an opportunity of expressing their concurrence in a constitutional and effective form. It was nothing more nor less, than the West India proprietors, chiefly resident in England, and consisting of the aristocracies of wealth and birth, when they found they would no longer be permitted to plunder the black slaves in the West Indies, with the ministers of the crown as their accomplices, and with a majority in parliament, of which they themselves formed an important part, turning round, and, as a last resource, and to secure a *bonne bouche*, plundering their own white countrymen, who were in the very act of endeavoring to bring them to some sense of honesty and justice; thus in every point of view, and to the very last moment, like the criminal within sight of Tyburn, abandoning themselves to their cheating and thieving propensities. One is nauseated to the depths of one's soul, when he listens to the conventionalities, and sentimentalities, and euphemisms, with which the most despicable villainies may be gilded, especially if they are committed on a sufficiently large scale, with a sufficient number of coadjutors, who will brazen it out before the world, and with a sufficient deference to popular prejudices and predilections; but, as it is high time that language should be employed for the purpose for which it was given, to express, not conceal our thoughts, I must be pardoned for having, in direct terms, and without any smooth circumlocution, described this transaction, such as I conceive it to have been, and refused my concurrence in the profuse laudations with which the good people of England, I verily believe, much to their own surprise, have been honored for their self-sacrifice in this matter, and for their high sense of justice to the slaveholder. I honor the people of England, the more that they were so intent on doing justice, even scanty justice, to the enslaved, the poor justice of making them lords and masters of their own limbs, and their own labor, they did not even think of doing justice to the enslavers; for *if they* had had justice, I know not who of them would have escaped whipping. But neither the liberators nor the liberated, had any feeling of revenge in their bosoms, and all that either desired or demanded, was redress to the injured, not the punishment of the unjust.

If the question of compensation is to be entertained at all, it can be considered only on the ground of rigid and impartial justice; and it is evident that on this ground, the slave, who has been from birth, treated as a criminal of the worst kind, without any form of law or pretext of justice, is the injured party, and that it is to him, if to any one, compensation is due. It is no less clear, that if the slave has this claim, it must be against some one, and primarily, and most strongly, against his enslaver, his owner, or holder. Notwithstanding these inevitable deductions, there is a feeling in every generous and just mind, that in giving the slave his liberty, you are giving him not all that he is entitled to, but all that he needs to enable him to stand erect in the world, a man among men; and that in depriving the slaveowner of his slave, he may claim your consideration on the footing, not of justice, but of compassion. The explanation of this feeling appears to be that the magnitude and atrocity of the injury done to the slave, is such that the mere undoing of it dwarfs, in regard to him, every other consideration, and prevents the mind from dwelling on the justice of compensation to him for his wrongs; while on the other hand, the slave-owner has in many instances rendered himself so dependent on his slave-property, that its annihilation is equivalent to casting him abroad on the world, like an unfledged bird from its nest, homeless and helpless. In this case, as in every case, society is bound to care for the welfare of all its members; and this class of citizens, it may be added, is the very last whose welfare is likely to be neglected.

Independent of this view, however, the slaveowner may well ask, am I the only sinner? Is he, indeed, the only oppressor? Has he had no accessories in his guilty career? Are there none in this great nation, who have stood by him, countenanced him, co-operated with him, voted with him, supported him by their influence, defended him by their eloquence, strengthened him in his wrong, when his heart was giving way under the reproaches of his own conscience, and the approbrium of public opinion? Are there none who have openly advocated slavery, and palliated its evils? Are there none who have been indifferent about it when they should have been zealous against it, and silent when they should have spoken—none who have only spoken when they should have acted—none who have acted feebly, when they might have acted energetically and effectively? Have not the separate States, the free, as well as the slave States, passed laws in support of slavery? Does not the Constitution of the United States, recognize and adopt slavery as a national institution, if not in terms, yet in fact and in substance? Are not slaveholders, and slave-brokers, members and officers of so-called Christian churches, and even churches and clergy themselves, holders of slave-property? And do not the churches, and the clergy, and the people of the North, who may themselves be free from any such direct and palpable taint, sympathize, and patronize, and commune with, and recognize, as Christian brethren, whenever opportunity occurs, the churches, and the clergy, and the people of the South, who have thus pronounced their own condemnation? And do not the churches, and clergy, and the people of the North, thus become partakers of other men's sins, and pronounce their own condemnation as effectually as if they were, in direct and naked fact, the buyers and sellers of men? "The whole head is sick and the whole heart faint. From the sole of the foot, even unto the head, there is no soundness in it." Well may the slaveholder deem that he alone should not pay the pecuniary forfeiture of a great national crime, in which high and low, rich and poor, Church and State, clergy and laity, North and South, have all taken a guilty

tion Act; but there was another direction in which that influence was even more injuriously exerted. In the very act of pretended emancipation, the slave-owners were unwilling to let go their hold of the slaves. They accordingly painted in vivid colors, the dangers to the government, and to society at large, in suddenly liberating large masses of human beings, constituting a majority of the population of the colonies, and unaccustomed to the rights and the duties of free men. The ministers of the crown, yielding to these interested suggestions, proposed and obtained the assent of parliament, that the slaves should be subjected to a condition intermediate between slavery and freedom, and to be called apprenticeship, in which a division was made of the hours and days of labor, between the slave and his master; and by various minor regulations, it was sought to prepare, so the phrase went, the slaves for freedom. The Act of Emancipation was passed to take effect, and the system of apprenticeship to commence, on the 1st of August, 1834, and the latter not to come to a close till the 1st of August, 1844. In other words, the slave-owners were to have a gift of twenty millions sterling, for their acquiescence in the emancipation of their slaves, and after all, their slaves were not to be emancipated without a period of ten years' probation. Can any further proof be required, that the provisions of the Emancipation Act were dictated by slaveholders in heart, if not in fact; or in plainer terms, that the ministers of the crown allowed themselves to be made the abject creatures and tools of the West India interest? The effect of this miserable pandering, was what a very superficial knowledge of human nature might have taught them to expect, if politicians and slaveholders, were not notorious for their ignorance of its most obvious principles. The slaves were no longer slaves, and therefore they would not submit to the restraints of slavery. They were not yet free men, and therefore their masters would treat them still as slaves. This pretended preparation for freedom created a state of anarchy and confusion, worse, if possible, than the state of things under confirmed slavery; not leading indeed to insurrection, but threatening it, and causing endless jarrings between the apprentice and the master, equally unsatisfactory to both. As the powers of government, however, were on the side, and indeed in the hands of the master, the apprentice still was, as the slave had been, the oppressed party; and as every successive despatch from the West Indies brought accounts of his discontents and sufferings, the people of England were again roused, and demanded in a manner that admitted of no compromise, that the slave should be free indeed, as well as in name. Various and strenuous attempts were made by ministers and slaveholders, to elude this necessity. But the moral judgment and sentiment of the nation would not be otherwise satisfied, and the system of apprenticeship, the last remnant of the system of slavery, was brought to a prompt and final end on the 1st of August, 1838—the event which we have met this day to commemorate.

It is instructive to note that with all the assumed doubt of the capacity of the slave to enjoy freedom, to provide for himself and his family, and to prevent him and them from becoming burdensome to society, and dangerous to civil order, there is never any proposition made to endow him at the time of emancipation, and at the public expense, with the means of starting in life with a fair chance of success. In a state of slavery, the slave, poor wretch, cannot take care of himself; the slaveholder must take care both of himself and his slaves. But the moment it is proposed that the two classes should stand apart, and that each individual should provide for himself, by his own unaided exertions, then it is that the slaveholder seeks to concentrate on himself universal and exclusive sympathy, and demands a public provision for his support, without thinking of the destitution to which his unhappy slave will be reduced, or dreaming of putting in a claim on his behalf; while, strange to say, all that the slave asks, is simply permission to do the best that he can, by honest industry, for himself, and those dependent on him. Such is a specimen of the fallacies by which falsehood is sought to be maintained; but when a man's life is a continuous lie, how can we expect that his words should express a truth?

But still the question recurs, Is it not necessary, reasonable, or at least safe and prudent, by an intermediate period of probation, to endeavor to qualify the slave for the complete enjoyment of the privileges of a free man? I waive here all reference to political rights and immunities, as the demand made for him, is that he shall be constituted a free member of civil society, with the right, subject to just and equal laws, of thinking, and acting for himself. Is it meant to be implied or affirmed that a preparatory course of training is necessary for this purpose? Of course, the slave needs instruction; but if the need of instruction justifies slavery, even for a limited time, then I desire to know who would be entitled to be free? And why may not that instruction be obtained in a state of freedom, as well as in a state of slavery, and much more probably obtained and sought after, in the former than in the latter? It is overlooked in all this, that man is not dependent on any preparatory course of training or instruction for his capacity to discharge any, or all of the duties of life, for the emotions and perceptions, the affections and passions, the powers and faculties, that constitute him what he is—a man. It is too late in the nineteenth century, to set about formally to prove that the negro is a man; and assuming that fact, it follows that he has all the essential capacities of a man, and that, with him, as with every other human being, life is the great and indispensable requisite to a fit discharge of all the duties of life, and freedom the great and indispensable requisite to a fit discharge of all the duties of freedom. To deprive the slave of freedom in order to qualify him for freedom, is like teaching a child to walk without motion, and to speak without utterance.

5. There were two great classes of men that were deeply affected by the Emancipation Act, as it was finally passed, the slaves and the slaveholders. With regard to the former, it was made a question, as we have seen, whether, without some preparatory measures to qualify, and, as it were, to break them in, their liberty would not lead to licentiousness, to public disorder, confusion, and anarchy; and it was with many doubts, and misgivings and forebodings, that a full, and unrestricted concession was made to them of the rights and privileges of men and citizens. It was never made a question, whether the slaveholders were qualified to live under a state of freedom, whether they were competent to enjoy the blessings of liberty without licentiousness; whether they were willing to submit to the restraints, not of slavery, but of freedom, and to recognize the rights, and discharge the duties of free men, living among and with the free. And yet it is evident that, independent of all experience, and on the ground of theory alone, this inquiry was quite as important and necessary as the other; and in point of fact, as the result has shown, here lay all the difficulty, and all the danger. The slaveholders were *not* qualified for a state of freedom. They at first attempted, under the system of apprenticeship, to enjoy *with* the sanctions of law, all the advantages of slavery, without its name, or the odium attached to it. Being signally defeated in this scheme, they next sought *without* the sanctions of law, to accomplish, in substance, the very same end, and to treat the freed man with the same injustice which the slave had received at their hands. In the first place, they felt no confidence in the slaves, thus transformed into free men: the proprietors of estates and their agents looked upon the negroes as having been unjustly wrested from their control, as captives escaped from confinement, whom they would still be glad to reclaim. Accordingly, "the same unbending sternness and violence of manner which characterized the planters during the period of slavery when the power of the lash was in their hands," was exhibited in too many instances under the new system. Distrust produced distrust, and violence dislike. Some of the free negroes preferred, instead of working under their former masters, to labor on their own account; while the women generally, withdrew from the field to domestic duties, and the children to school, and the necessary consequence of this diminution of the quantity of labor, was the increase of the value of what remained, or in other words, a rise of wages. This was, of course, intolerable to the planters, and they forthwith entered into combinations to reduce the prices of labor below its fair and just level, by an extensive importation of Coolies from the East Indies, of Africans from Sierra Leone, and of Irish and German emigrants, who were cajoled into this speculation by the falsest pretenses and with the most fatal results; while, on the other hand, the free negroes were often prevented from removing to different colonies, to meet the varying demands for labor. These were not the only resources of the planters. They further sought to coerce labor under a system of freedom, by making the tenure of the occupancy of huts and provision grounds by the free negroes to depend on labor, not on rent; by charging exhorbitantly for those accommodations, the possession of which, by the negroes was necessary even to the interest of the planters; and by mixing up the questions of wages and rents, and enforcing their unreasonable claims by summary ejectments and other harsh proceedings. Still further, the making and the administration of the local laws of the colonies, were still in the hands of the planters, and they were made to bear with rigor and inequality upon the enfranchised negroes; a state of things which we can easily understand in this country, by a reference to the unjust laws and invidious distinctions which, even in the free States, mark the free colored population as a proscribed and inferior race. All this has not prevented the success of the Emancipation Act, but it was all that the planters could do to prevent its success; and the whole case establishes with irresistible evidence, that in every such measure as that which was carried into effect in the British West Indies, the grand obstacles to success are not to be found in the slaves, but in the slaveholders; not in the unwillingness of the slaves to submit to the restraints of civil order, and to live a life of honest industry, but in the unwillingness of the slaveholders to forego the habits and the practises, the passions, and the vices of slavery. Deep as is the degradation which slavery inflicts upon the slave, its curse to the slaveholder enters like iron into his very soul; and while it is a duty to seek to rescue the slave from him, it is not less a duty to seek to save the slaveholder from himself.

6. The last great question that arises out of the Emancipation Act is, What have been its practical effects? Have those effects confirmed the predictions of its friends, or its enemies? Has the cause of genuine liberty, of social improvement, and of human civilization advanced or retrograded? I answer, without the fear of successful contradiction, that that cause has been largely and indefinitely advanced, and that, on the soberest grounds of rational calculation, the Emancipation Act affords the strongest encouragement to every measure of the same kind.

Before, however, looking at the actual results, let us ask ourselves the question—Is success necessary to convince us that liberty is a blessing, and slavery a curse?—that right and justice are the permanent laws of God's government, and that to us, as his subjects, there is not, and can never be, any exemption from obedience to them? Do we wait for success to pronounce that the patriot bled, and the martyr died in a just and holy cause? Do we require a regular debtor and creditor account, with a balance carefully struck between the advantages and the disadvantages, the benefits and the evils of the Emancipation Act, before we venture to determine that it was right to remove the fetters from the slave, and to let the oppressed go free? No, my friends, you would be doing injustice to yourselves to assume any such ground; for the spontaneous promptings of the human soul, as well as the lessons of man's moral history, infallibly teach us that he is always right who pleads the cause of outraged humanity; that even in the midst of apparent failure, defeat, and ruin, he triumphs, and triumphs gloriously; and that even then he sows the seed which may lie long buried, but which will germinate in due time, a hundred-fold. Napoleon, it has been said, asserted that the word *impossible* did not belong to his vocabulary. The word *failure* does not belong to the vocabulary of the genuine lover of his kind. He always succeeds, and he knows that he will; and it is this deep-seated, inwrought conviction, this moral enthusiasm, this inspiration from the Almighty, who giveth understanding, that constitutes the pledge and surety, not only of certain ultimate success, but also of many a direct and immediate triumph. With all this, success is the object to be aimed at, not the test and criterion of truth and justice; and we must be careful to keep the distinction steadily in view, if we desire to cherish sound moral habits of thought and action.

In the present instance, but for the inherent power and vitality belonging to the principle of liberty in the mind of man, corresponding in morals with what naturalists call the *vis medicatrix naturæ*, I should have despaired of the success of the Emancipation Act. The measure was practically in the hands of its enemies. Party considerations determined some of its most important provisions, and principle was sacrificed to expediency. The original act was a self-contradiction of its own professed principle and object; placing the enfranchised slave at the mercy of his master, giving the name of freedom, not its reality, and creating, as if on purpose, the elements of discord, and confusion, and rebellion. When this error was rectified, the whole influence of the colonial aristocracy was employed to crush the nascent spirit of liberty in their late slaves, and, by legal, and extra-legal means, to prevent the formation of habits of self-respect and self-dependence, and of confidence in the just and equal administration of the laws. As failure, under such circumstances, would not have been matter of surprise, and, if it was to succeed, it must succeed, not in virtue of the wisdom with which its provisions were devised, or of the benevolence with which they were executed, but because the poor, uninstructed, and slandered slaves were practically wiser and better than their rulers and masters. Whatever degree of failure then, if any, may have attended the measure of emancipation, we are entitled to ascribe to its opponents; and whatever degree of success may have distinguished it, we are entitled to claim for the slaves themselves: and if we learn no other lesson from it, we may learn this, never to trust the politicians and expedientists, whose characteristic it is to traffic in humanity, and in principle; and never to distrust the salutary efficacy of simple truth and righteousness.

The first and most obvious effect of the Emancipation Act on great national interests, is that which it has produced on the security and integrity of the British empire. Of the power of England, it is unnecessary to speak to you. Her weakness consists in the multiplied points of attack which her extended territories present, and in the large masses of discontented population, that are found in almost every subdivision of her dominions. In the very heart of the empire, the chartists, constituting the great body of the working and unrepresented classes, are steadily undermining the aristocratic supports of the monarchy. Ireland is in a political fever, demanding the restoration of her local legislature. In India, she has one hundred millions of subjects alien in blood, in language, and in religion. Canada has been preserved for the present to the crown, only by prompt means of repression, and a vigorous system of internal reform. The West Indies *were*, in like manner, a great sore in the body politic, a source of national weakness, a scene of never-ending discontents, and frequent insurrections, and a point of attack to hostile powers, during a period of war; constantly liable to be torn from her grasp by others, or become a series of black republics, either in confederation or separately, of which Hayti presested a fit and tempting example; and even while they should remain in her possession, a heavy drain on her resources for the naval and military forces necessary to keep the slaves in awe. What are those colonies now; what their condition, and what the character of their population? Eight hundred thousand slaves have been, by the single act of justice, performed in a single day, changed into free, loyal, and attached subjects; prepared, with arms in their hands, not to invite, but to repel invasion; glorying in their dependence on the crown of England, which has made them men, and willing, if necessary, to fight *a l'outrance* against all slaveholding republics, which they heartily and specially believe to be of the devil. England has entrenched herself in the hearts of her black subjects, not in her wooden walls, or in her military power; and she finds the West Indies a prop and buttress, on which in every emergency, she may rely with confidence. Wherever else she may be weak, there she is strong; strong against disaffection within, and therefore strong against dangers from without; and all this, not because such a result was formally contemplated, but because the people of England would be just, and would listen to nothing but simple, uncompromising justice. O, what a virtue there is in that word, justice—yes, even in the mere word, for if men even only profess to desire to do justice, the injured feels that he has some hold on their moral nature. What a virtue, then, what a potency in the will, the determination, the deed of justice! It is this alone, that has placed England in the commanding position she now occupies in the western hemisphere; and looking at the subject with the eye of mere worldly policy, is it nothing to England, in addition to her other embarrassing external and domestic relations, to have her attention no longer distracted, and her resources wasted in keeping down a discontented slave population? Is it nothing to her to have substituted loyalty for disaffection, strength for weakness, the certainty of safety for the harassing fear of danger? When I look at the condition and prospects of slaveholding countries, with reference merely to their external or foreign relations, I ask, Is there no statesman or patriot, truly worthy of the name in this country, possessed of talents, and filling a space in the public eye, that will command attention, who will tell the people of these United States, not only in the North, but in the South, that in cherishing slavery with such frantic zeal, they are only preparing innumerable vulnerable points for a determined enemy, and presenting brands to his hand, with which he will spread over the land a universal and destructive conflagration? Is there no southern politician, who even as a mere politician, is prescient enough of the danger to scent the coming calamity, and to seek, by a prompt and general measure of abolition, to avert it? No. With this gulf yawning before them, they can find no better employment for their time or their money, than to abuse abolition, and offer rewards for the heads of abolitionists, and hug to their bosom the institution that will prove their destruction!

The second effect of the Emancipation Act, to which I shall briefly advert, is the economical effect, a branch of the question to which much undue importance has been attached. The argument on this subject seems framed on the notion, that the negro in the West Indies, lives and dies for no other earthly or heavenly purpose but to produce sugar and molasses, rum and coffee. It is true, that he, like every other man, born of woman, is bound to labor, and to produce enough for his own support; but it does not follow that he is bound to produce in kind and quantity, just what those need and demand who do not labor at all, the *fruges consumere nati*. If they do not approve of the attention he has given to other forms of industry, there is obvious means of supplying his deficiencies, by substituting their labor for his; but if he is really free, he must be left to select his own mode of labor for the support of himself and his family. The exercise of this right of selection, the general withdrawal of women and children from the field, the differences that have arisen between the planters and the negroes, regarding wages and rent, and the occurence of droughts of almost unparalleled duration, have materially lessened the amount, not of the total produce, but of the total exportable produce; that is, of the total produce adapted to foreign consumption. Thus, the average quantity of sugar imported into the united kingdom, from the British West Indies, during the last three years of slavery, was 3,841,157 cwts.; during the three years of apprenticeship, 3,477,592 cwts.; and during the first three years of freedom, 2, 396,789 cwts. The diminution, however, has apparently reached its *minimum*, as the crop of 1842 was considerably in excess of that of 1841, and with the better understanding that now exists between laborers and employers, produce is expected still further to increase. Molasses and coffee have fallen off proportionably with sugar, while on the other hand, the export of the article of cocoa has doubled. It is a curious fact, however, that what the West India proprietors lost in quantity, they gained in value, by the increased price which their sugar, molasses, and coffee, have borne in the English market; so that whatever parties may have suffered by the abolition of slavery, they are not to be reckoned in the number. They got a *bonus* of twenty millions sterling; they got higher prices for the diminished quantity of produce, compensating for the difference; and their plantations, by the competition for lands, and other causes, consequent on a state of freedom, have risen double, treble, and even higher in value.

Although the total exportable produce has fallen off, there is good ground for believing that the total produce of the colonies has not diminished; and this ground is that consumption has largely increased. Since 1834, the date of the first Emancipation Act, the import of British manufactured goods to the British West India colonies, has steadily and progressively advanced from £2,680,024 in 1834, to £3,492,734 in 1840—a difference of nearly a million sterling; while at the same time, the imports of food from the United States have increased proportionably with the imports from Great Britain. It is impossible to explain this regularly increasing demand, without supposing the ability on the part of the colonies, to pay for what they consume by what they produce. No people can, in the long run, consume more than they produce; for that is merely saying that they cannot buy more than they have the means of buying. Since the consumption of the colonies, therefore, in a state of freedom, has largely and regularly increased, it follows that the total produce for domestic, as well as foreign use, cannot have diminished, but must also have proportionably advanced! This increased consumption, also shows the useful effect of the Emancipation Act upon the manufactures of Great Britain, and the agriculture of the United States; illustrates by how many links the welfare of the greatest is dependent upon the welfare of the humblest members of the universal family of nations; and proves that in every point of view, the economical effect of the abolition of slavery in the West Indies has been salutary and encouraging.

The social effects of the Act of Emancipation, distinct from those which are merely economical and political, are still more worthy of note. In the colonies, society is at peace within itself, or at least one source of uneasiness collision has been removed. The primary and original cause of slavery was probably war; and whatever other causes may have subsequently prolonged or extended it, it always retained its original character, and arrayed the parties concerned in hostile attitudes, and in hostile relations to each other. There can be no peace, no confidence, no security, where slavery exists. Civil order cannot rest on any safe foundation. The laws of war are the laws of slavery; and if it is the slave that is subjected to those laws, and against him that they are directed, it is the slaveholder that must enforce them; and thus, the principles of civil order are corrupted at the very fountain-head, and the master becomes the victim of his own tyranny. Freedom restores society to its natural state, which is the state of peace, of mutual respect, mutual good will, and mutual good offices. This is substantially the change that has taken place in the West Indies; and can any one doubt its superior advantages? Still further, freedom has given society a new impulse; and instead of the torpor and apathy which characterized the public mind in slavery, a spirit of enterprise and improvement has taken possession equally of the enfranchised peasantry, and their no less truly enfranchised employer. The cultivation of silk, an entirely new staple, has been commenced on a large scale in Jamaica, with the patronage of government, and with every prospect of success, by one of our own most respected and intelligent townsmen, and in the colonies generally, the use of steam power, in substitution for human labor, has been introduced, and will probably soon be generally adopted; while the colored population are living in the enjoyment of increased comforts, are gradually acquiring new and improved tastes, and are rising to the possession of landed estates of their own, to increased social consideration, and to the tenure of public offices of trust and emolument—a condition of things which can be regarded with contempt, only by those who despise the most valuable blessings of social life; and with dread, only by those who fear the equal competition of a race which they profess to consider naturally inferior to themselves.

Last, and greatest of all, the moral and religious effects of the Emancipation Act have been such as, independent of every other consequence, amply to reward the friends of the slave for all their toils and sacrifices in his behalf. The worst that can be said of slavery is *not* that it paralyzes the arm of industry, that it disorganizes society, and that it exposes a people to all the horrors of servile war, and of foreign invasion. The worst is *not* that it deprives the slave of the just fruits of his labor, of the rightful command over his own limbs, and subjects him, at the pleasure of an irresponsible master, to the whip, to fetters, and to death itself. No; even this is not the worst. The worst is, that its whole tendency is to brutalize the soul of man, to annihilate his moral nature, and to extinguish his aspirations after the highest good of all being. It reverses for him the law of universal nature, and universal humanity; the law of growth and progress, of ascent, of improvement; and seeks to sink him lower, and lower, and lower still, till it reduces him to the condition of a well-tamed brute-beast, or of a mere tool in the hands of another, without a will of his own, or a desire to be, or to do, other than what he is or does as an animal-machine; and when it has succeeded in thus perfectly unmanning him, it then turns round and boasts of the work it has achieved, of his cheerful contentment with his treatment, and of the excellencies and advantages of the institution. When the highest and most vaunted result of slavery is thus to desecrate and erase the noblest and most sacred characteristics of humanity, it is evident that the chief, the worthiest, and most glorious effect hoped for from freedom, must be the restoration of the lost or defaced image of God in the enslaved, the recognition of his individual will, of his moral nature, and personal responsibility, and of his capacity in common with other human beings, for ever-progressive attainments in intellectual culture, and in moral and spiritual excellence. This recognition is made in bestowing upon the slave the simple right to his freedom, for it is not merely bodily freedom, the freedom of locomotion, that is recognized; but the moral freedom that constitutes him a person, an accountable member of society, and a subject of God's moral government. All testimony, not that only which might be doubted as abolition testimony, but testimony of the most formal and official kind, establishes beyond all contradiction, that "the emancipation took place without the occurrence of a single instance of tumult or disturbance; that the joy of the negroes on the 1st of August, 1838, was orderly, sober, and religious; that since emancipation, the negroes have been thriving and contented; that they have varied their manner of living, and multiplied their comforts and enjoyments; that their offenses against the laws have become more and more light and unfrequent; that their morals have improved; that marriage has become more and more substituted for concubinage; and that they are eager for education, rapidly advancing in knowledge, and powerfully influenced by the ministers of religion." I do not pretend to believe, or mean to assert, that the religious influences to which they are subject, are of the purest and most exalted kind, or that they are free from ignorance and superstition, bigotry and fanaticism. What cannot be affirmed of the Christian world at large, needs not to be affirmed of them, to establish the good, moral, and religious effects of the Emancipation Act. The great and important fact, is, that the sentiment and principle of religion finds free and unfettered development, and that in the exercise of the faculties God has given them, the career is open to them, as to all others, of progressive advancement in the knowledge of truth, and in the practice of goodness.

Such is the great measure of British West India Emancipation—its history, its most striking features, and its most obvious results—a measure that will stand out in bold relief in the page of the future historian, and in the eye of an enlightened posterity, from all the other moral movements that have preceded it within the present century; and yet a measure, which I firmly trust, will be soon eclipsed by other and similar events. Coming events cast their shadows before. This event, indeed, was no shadow, but a solemn and profound reality, and solemn and profound realities are to come after it. Let us seek to prepare our own minds, and the minds of others, for the great moral changes that await society, and to aid by our exertions, and within our sphere, in the final and complete establishment of liberty and righteousness.

Communications.

"TRANSFER OF THE EMANCIPATOR."

When I first read Charles T. Torrey's communication on this subject, in your paper of the 16th, it seemed to me hardly worth while to say anything farther. In fact, all that has been uttered in your columns respecting the transfer, or as you have been pleased to call it, the "embezzlement" of the Emancipator, appeared to me not to demand an answer. I could not refrain from smiling at the moderation of your tone of censure against my esteemed friend, Joshua Leavitt, *after the election in Massachusetts*. Supposing all was gained by you that was contemplated, I supposed that the subject might descend unmolested to the tomb of the Capulets. But, on farther reflection, there are a few things in friend Torrey's communication that justify, if they do not require of me, some reply; unwilling as I have been, to think it necessary to say anything in defense of those who have been, as I think, unjustly assailed in your paper. When men are conscious of having acted uprightly and honorably, it is no easy *matter* to arouse them to self-defense. At least, so have many thought and acted, in regard to several things connected with the anti-slavery enterprise.

Mr. Torrey wishes to know how it happened that no cash means of publishing the Emancipator for six weeks longer, towards the close of 1840, could be had. He is informed, he says, that "this grew out of the hostility of Mr. Lewis Tappan, and other *moneyed* members of the committee, to Mr. Leavitt and to the liberty party. They wished to *crush both* Mr. Leavitt and the party, &c." It appears to me indiscreet, if not censurable in Mr. Torrey, thus to allude to members of the committee. However, I may say, my "hostility" to Mr. Leavitt, was a difference of opinion as to the best mode of conducting the Emancipator at that time. And the notion about attempting to "crush" him, or the paper, is ridiculous, as is the allusion to the "*moneyed* members of the committee."

In the early part of 1840, I thought, for one, that too much prominence was given in the columns of the Emancipator to the political bearings of the cause. I think so still. In the committee, it was frequently a matter of discussion, and an expression of the committee was obtained in favor of restricting political discussions in the paper. Mr. Leavitt, with his natural independence, but under a sense of duty, I doubt not, paid too little heed, as I thought, to the resolution of the committee. It was my desire therefore, to be released from the responsibility resting upon me as a member of the committee, charged with the publication of the Emancipator. When therefore, Mr. Leavitt made an overture to purchase the paper, I very readily proposed to accept his proposition. In my estimation, it possessed no pecuniary value, and its transfer seemed advantageous to the society. Mr. Leavitt, throughout the whole proceedings, acted with perfect integrity and honor. It never entered my head, and I presume it did not the head of any member of the committee, that, in consenting to the sale or transfer, we were "embezzling" the paper, or doing anything injurious to the society or the cause, unless Mr Gibbons be an exception. If Mr. Gibbons, then one of the committee, and one who now talks of "embezzlement," had proposed to take the paper on the same terms, before Mr. Leavitt did, I presume the committee would have consented to it. Neither Mr. Gibbons nor his friends made any overture, by offering better terms, to prevent the transfer to Mr. Leavitt.

The old committee were unwilling to assume any unnecessary pecuniary liability, because it was personal, and they expected that Mr. Garrison would come to the annual meeting, as in fact he did, with a considerable portion of the town of Lynn, to outvote the members of the society opposed to his policy, from other parts of the country. As it was, the members of the old committee, after placing part of the property of the society in the hands of two of their members, as trustees, to dispose of, to pay the debts of the society, for which the members of the committee were personally liable, had to pay upwards of three thousand dollars out of their own pockets, for which they have not, nor ever will be, reimbursed by their successors, the executive committee of the (old) American Anti-Slavery Society! And not only this, but we have been abused and slandered, without stint, from that time to this, and shall be, I suppose, until those who think it promotes the welfare of the enslaved thus to assail men laboring in the same cause, but in a different way in some respects, shall be otherwise minded.

During the spring of 1840 the executive committee had very little money. It had been decided that Messrs. Birney and Stanton should proceed to England as delegates to the General Anti-Slavery Convention in London. There was no money in the treasury to defray the expenses. What was to be done? Several hundreds of dollars were raised by the friends of the cause for Mr. Birney, and a small appropriation of anti-slavery books was made by the executive committee for his mission. The books thus appropriated, were at fifty per cent. discount from the usual prices. The arrearages of salaries due Messrs. Birney & Stanton were paid in books at the same rate. I volunteered to advance money to purchase these books at the prices they received them, and took books at the same rate of other persons who had claims on the society, and who were paid in books. This is not all, the books are on hand still! Enough have not been sold to pay for advertising them. If any of the gentlemen or ladies who are in the executive committee of the society at the present time, or any out of the committee, who feel disposed to censure the old committee, are disposed to take the unsold publications, they shall have them at a deduction of 25 per cent. from the prices I gave; or if they will reimburse me the money advanced for Messrs. Birney and Stanton's books, received in lieu of money, and for books bought at the sale, in order to close the concerns of the society, I will discount one thousand dollars.

When the old committee went out of office, they would have been very glad to have surrendered up all the society's property in their hands, or under their control, if their successors would have indemnified them satisfactorily for the pecuniary responsibilities they had assumed. The new committee did not choose to do this. In consequence of it, the old committee, as before stated, were obliged, after disposing of all the property in their hands, to pay more than three thousand dollars, a sum justly due by those who now represent the American Anti-Slavery Society. But if they will cease to abuse those who have acted thus disinterestedly and liberally, they shall, so far as I am concerned, have a receipt in full. If, however, they will not do this, I shall be sure not to follow the advice of friend Torrey, by commencing an action for slander, remembering the blacksmith when advised to sue because he had been slandered.

With regard to the salaries paid the secretaries, large as they may now appear, they were not then deemed more than equivalent for the services of the able men who filled the office, and who might, in other departments of labor, have earned greater compensation.

I have been reluctant to make this statement, because I did not wish to trumpet my advances in money, as it appears egotistical to say so much of my agency in the matters alluded to. But the letter of Mr. Torrey seems to make it necessary to say something. If, after this, any one in Boston, New-York, England, or Ireland, thinks it would advance the cause of human rights to continue to talk about the "embezzlement of the Emancipator," or the wrong conduct of the old committee, in relation to the delegation to London, or anything connected with the administration of the affairs of the society before the separation, let them "rail on."

LEWIS TAPPAN.

REMARKS.

We hesitated whether to publish the foregoing; first, because it does not touch the merits of the case; and secondly, because the party which Mr. Tappan on this occasion represents, has not, at any time, done us the justice to publish a syllable of our statements, nor those of any friend of this society. The Emancipator and its coadjutors, do not venture to lay our unanswered and unanswerable facts before the honest mass of their party. They keep back all that is material to the question between us, and by publishing nothing that we have said, and by answering what we have not said, or what is unimportant, humbug their readers into a belief that we are answered, by a deceitful show of answering, a show as false as the pretenses under which we were robbed. Mr. Tappan having given in his adhesion to the political operations of the Emancipator, once so severely condemned by him, might in all probability influence Mr. Leavitt to let our side have a hearing before his, (once our) subscribers. Not however feeling sure of this, and choosing to err, if at all, on the side of liberality, we have admitted the communication.

The great point which the case presents is, that the Emancipator was taken away from this society under the pretense that the executive committee had no means to carry it on, until the annual meeting of this society in May, 1840. *James S. Gibbons*, a member of the executive committee, and as just a man as lives, immediately nailed this pretense to the counter, as false, by his recorded protest; which he was severely reprimanded by Mr. Tappan, at the time, for having published to the world without the leave of the executive committee!

We have recently proved that this pretense was false, by showing that Mr. Leavitt, Mr. Tappan, and their colleagues did, after all, provide at our expense for paying Leavitt's salary, and all other expenses of publishing the paper *up to, and beyond* the day of the annual meeting! If they could keep robbin alive for Joshua Leavitt, why could they not for their constituents, who had entrusted to them the care and preservation of it?

To this controlling and decisive fact no answer is made nor ever will be. They dare not encounter this fact. With such views of the case, we will not occupy time and space in playing round the subject with Mr Tappan or anybody else. Let him come manfully to the merits, and he will find us ready to yield or contest every point. In regard to his insinuation as to motives, we have only to say that he is mistaken, and does us wrong. Whether his cause can be best maintained by impugning our facts or our motives, is a question for himself and our readers.

The Anti-Slavery Standard.

NEW-YORK, THURSDAY, DEC. 7, 1843.

ABOLITION IN DENMARK, SWEDEN, AND HOLLAND.

The two last numbers of the *British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Reporter*, which have reached us, contain an account of a tour made by *G. W. Alexander*, and *B. B. Wiffen*, delegates from the British Anti-Slavery Society, for the purpose of communicating with official and other persons on the continent, in relation to the abolition of slavery in some of the European dependencies, where it still exists. Of Mr. Alexander's valuable labors in France, Spain, and Portugal, last year, we need not now speak. The present narrative may be considered as a continuation of his excellent "Letters on Slavery and the Slave-trade," written in the South of Europe during that year.

The first visit now narrated, was to Denmark. It appears that an address to Holland and Denmark, put forth by the London Convention of 1840, had been translated into Danish, by Professor David, and published in a periodical edited by him. It appears, also, that there is a paper in Copenhagen, called the *Fiedieland*, (Fatherland,) which has often brought the subject of abolition before the public. Doubtless, to the effect of these publications, we must attribute the meliorations preparatory to emancipation, which have recently taken place in the Danish islands. A report on the condition of the slaves had been made by Commodore Dahlerup, who visited and inspected the colonies in 1841. He was a pro-slavery man, but yet, some of the facts which he detailed were such that no coloring could disguise their enormity. For example, the regular *decrease* of the slave population, *is two per cent.* per annum, instead of being as it ought, an increase of *two or three per cent.* It is true, this is not as bad as it is in the sugar district of the United States, where the decrease is *five per cent.* per annum. If the same wholesale murder were universal, twenty years would see the last of the human race!

Mr. Alexander and his coadjutor, while at Copenhagen conferred with ministers of the crown, and of religion, professors of the University, West India merchants, editors, and others, and found in all cases a feeling friendly to their object.

It appears that the Danish colonies are in a state of great depression, and that dissoluteness of morals, owing in a great measure to slavery, has arrived at a frightful pitch.

Mr. Alexander, before his departure from Denmark, wrote "An address on the duty and policy of the immediate and entire abolition of slavery in the Danish colonies," which was to be translated and published.

The next visit was to Sweden, where the reception was kind and cordial, and the same exertions used. After conferring with individuals, a meeting was held, which was attended by Professor Gejer, a distinguished poet, and Thomander, one of the first orators in Sweden, and both members of the Diet. In that body, Gejer had moved the address on slavery, to the king.

H. J. Hjeuta, editor of a Stockholm newspaper, called the *Aftonblad*, having a large circulation, takes a warm interest in the subject. It is gratifying to add, in this place, that *Frederika Bremer* expressed herself to Mr. Brooks, of the Express, during his late visit to Sweden, very decidedly against our slavery, as a stain upon the country. Before leaving Stockholm, our friend drew up a paper on "the duty of immediate abolition in the Swedish West India colony," which was to be translated by the editor of the Aftonblad, and published therein, and in a handbill or pamphlet. This was addressed to Bernadotte, and is published in the Reporter. It urges him to accomplish, without delay, the emancipation of the slaves in the island of St. Bartholomew. The delegates express the opinion that no compensation should be allowed the slaveholders, with the exception of those who *possess no other property than that in slaves*. Such owners, they "recommend to the consideration of the king, while performing an act of justice to the bondmen."

The interviews of our friends with the prime ministers of both countries, were highly satisfactory.

The next visit was to *Hernhut*, the seat of the Moravian brethren, in Saxony. These people expressed their disapprobation of all slavery, but endeavored to defend their own missionaries, who are holding slaves in the Danish colonies. It was gratifying, however, to hear that they had given notice to the Danish governor, of their wish to emancipate all their slaves. They declared that it would be a great satisfaction and relief to them if slavery were utterly done away.

The tour terminated with a visit to Holland. This, it we may judge from the narrative, was the most interesting part of the mission. Slavery in the Dutch colonies is the worst that exists, with the exception of that in the United States. Thus these friends inform us of a recent Dutch anti-slavery work, which has for a frontispiece, the portraits of three young slaves, who were burned alive in Surinam, in 1833. We could match it with a frontispiece containing as many slaves as there have been presidents of the republic, burned alive in the same period. In Surinam, also, the decrease is 2 per cent.

Anti-slavery has taken deep hold in Holland. J. J. Gurney's work has been translated, and extensively read. An anti-slavery society has been formed at the Hague, and another at Rotterdam; and also a *women's* society. They had petitioned the legislature, and the subject was referred to the minister of marine, former governor of Surinam. The *answer was respectful, and rather friendly*, insisting, however, upon the necessity of religious instruction, and a legalization of marriage before emancipation. The government admitted the high importance of the subject, and appointed commissioners to examine the question of abolition; and propose a scheme of melioration.

It is consoling to see petitions treated in this manner by any government. After the wrongs and insults we have borne, it would seem to be the peculiar prerogative of pattern republicans to trample on the rights of petition. Upon the whole, the spirit manifested in Holland, by government as well as people, is encouraging. We do not learn from this narrative, much about the extent and state of slavery in Java.

It appears that among the other useful and humane labors of these devoted friends, was the turning back of a powerful German emigration, which was preparing to start for *Texas*.

The patrons of this emigration were said to be the Dukes of Nassau, and the Prince Maximilian de Weed, and several other German noblemen. It was also advocated in the *Algemiene Zeitung*, and other German papers. The prince declared to the delegates that he had no interest in the emigration, though he was willing to aid the views of his brother, the Duke of Nassau. He had been an extensive traveler in America, and "spoke with strong disapprobation of the system of slavery."

FINDING THINGS.

Very loose notions prevail among the mass of men, women, and children, about the right of keeping a thing they find. To do so, if they know the owner, or have not taken every pains to find him, is *stealing* in every sense of the word. It has been remarked by traveled Americans, that in the United States, where the temptations of poverty and suffering are comparatively little, dishonesty in this particular is greater than in any other country. This is a question hard to determine; but we will say that it is difficult to imagine how any country can be worse. We happen to have lost two wallets and a pocket-book, containing bank-notes and other papers, and never recovered, or heard of either.

The English papers lately mentioned the case of a respectable girl sentenced to transportation or penitentiary, for keeping money found. In Philadelphia, lately, a man dropped a wallet, containing $2000, in an out-house, which was picked up and disposed of by a colored man named Risdon Bacon. By passing the money to the hands of other colored men, he has involved them with himself. One of them, *Edward Augustus*, has been discharged as innocent of any knowledge of the crime.

Our colored brethren, from the nature of their ordinary employments, and their neglected education, are peculiarly exposed to this sort of temptation. We entreat them with special energy, to be on their guard against it.—Let them not parley with themselves a moment, whether they shall retain a lost article, if they have not used the most conscientious diligence to discover the owner, and kept it untouched as long as there is hope of finding him or his relatives. This is no light matter. A person who would keep lost goods, which he might restore, will commit other crimes, if he thinks he can escape detection. If any reader, whose eyes this paragraph meets, has hands polluted, and conscience burdened with this species of guilt, which so easily besets the best, let him make a clean breast by immediately restoring. We all say that manstealers ought to restore forthwith. There is scarcely any incident in life more rich in agreeable sensations, and philanthropic feeling and action, than the restoration of lost property. The recoverer has the double pleasure of getting again what was of value or convenience, or endeared by association to him, and at the same time, witnessing an act of integrity that raises his opinion of his species, and quickens all his benevolent affections. The more needy the finder, the greater this pleasure. Of what happiness does the covetous finder deprive himself, and what harm does he not inflict upon his race?

We add in this connection,

this matter with an arrogant oligarchy, habituated to dictation, unused to being thwarted, and who cannot believe in meekness. Cool descison must abash their insolence. To their cry of Texas *or* Disunion, must be sternly, strongly, *quickly* answered Texas *and* Disunion!"

MR. ADAM'S ADDRESS.

We have the pleasure of laying before our readers a sensible and comprehensive view of the whole subject of British West India Emancipation, from the pen of an accomplished scholar and an honest man. It occupies more of this number than we could wish to devote to one subject, but we hope our readers will prefer this to the separation into parts, of that which must be more agreeable on all sides, and much more effective as a whole.

It is proper to state, that the act for the abolition of East India slavery, had not, we believe, reached the United States, when this discourse was prepared. We presume, therefore, that what is said on East India slavery, was predicted on the state of things, (with which no man in this country is better acquainted than the author of this address,) previous to the passage of that act. There is, however, an uncertainty in many minds, about the effect of the act. We take it for granted, that it abolishes slavery, because our English friends who so understand it, have told us so. It is stated by a London correspondent of the *Western Chicago Citizen*, that the circumlocution of the act is attributable to a desire of the government to effect the destruction of slavery, without acknowledging its existence, inasmuch as it existed to a considerable extent, without the authority of law.

We have printed an extra number of this day's Standard, with which we shall be pleased to supply customers, either at the office, or at their orders.

THE HUTCHINSONS.

These popular singers, so well known to our readers as the tuneful friends of temperance and freedom, gave a farewell concert at Niblo's, on Monday evening. The house was filled to overflowing, and hundreds were obliged to go away disappointed, from the impossibility of gaining entrance. A messenger was sent in from the crowd outside, to beg them to repeat the concert; they will, accordingly sing again in this city, on Thursday, the 14th of December.

They richly deserve this popularity. The moral influence of their songs is almost unexceptionable, even to the severest school of theologians or reformers; and their naturally fine powers are greatly improved by practice, and enlarged opportunities, since they first came to New-York. Their performance of *Excelsior* is grand; worthy of the religious aspiration, the longing, heavenward glance, expressed in the words. It was indeed like the voice of an angel beckoning from the stars.—Upborne on such music should the parting souls of the great and good ascend to heaven.

The Hutchinsons were in fine voice on Monday evening; but though excited to do their best, by the crowded house and the frequent bursts of applause, they seemed as sincere and unaffected, as when they first come from the hills of "the old Granite State." Abby is still a sweet little flower of the mountains, which passes quietly through city crowds, unblighted by their breath. May God preserve her simplicity and truth.

This Yankee band would doubtless draw crowded houses on the other side of the Atlantic. They would "whittle" their way deep into the pockets of John Bull's purse, and no mistake. He would applaud the singers, if not their song, "Yankee doodle dandy."

REMINISCENCES OF TRAVEL.

LETTER III.

At the time of my first visit to Washington, Mr. Calhoun, at the age of thirty-five or forty, was Secretary of War, and the most popular man in Washington. He was distinguished for affability and ambition. He had received his academical education at Yale, and his law education at Litchfield, and professed an unbounded admiration of the character and institutions of the North. In return, he was a special favorite with the notabilities of New England, the Kings, Otises, and Websters.

Mr. Webster was not in Congress, but was attending the Supreme Court. He argued a great land case, in opposition to the accomplished and powerful William Pinkney. There was understood to have been, for some time, a secret jealousy and rivalry betwixt those two extraordinary men. Pinkney was on the wane, Webster was rising. Pinkney was suffering under a heavy cold, insomuch that he could scarcely articulate a word when he begun; but when he had got under weigh, and warm with his argument, his naturally fine organization triumphed over the impediment, and his voice rung out in clear notes of the richest melody. Nothing in his argument, surprised me more than the ease with which he wrought the most barbarous terms of law-Latin and Norman French, into his polished and musical periods. He handled his tools with the grace and adroitness of a master. Mr. Webster was of course, very different, but was admitted, even by the warmest Southern admirers of the crack orator of the South, to be a very Achilles in argument. His mighty power of concentrating, (a power in logic analagous to the Macedonian phalanx of Alexander, and to Napoleon's column of attack,) was, as usual, most conspicuous. I also remarked then, for the first time, (for I had heard him but little,) his faculty of bringing out, as if they had just flashed upon himself, new and startling views, deep, yet simple deductions, whose sudden force made the adversary's firmest ground quake beneath him. He got his case, and never, I presume, did he do it against a more formidable antagonist. This was Mr. Pinkney's last cause. In a week or ten days afterwards, I saw him stretched upon his bier; and I thought of Sir Edward Coke's saying, that "when a great learned man dies, much good learning dieth with him." Dr. Sewall, who attended him, and did all that skill and assiduity could, for his relief, informed me that Mr. Pinkney, during his sickness, told him that he had never met with a beautiful English sentence without committing it to memory. This went far to account for the wonderful copiousness, eloquence, and selectness of his language. In these respects, it seems to me that the age has not furnished his equal, either at home or abroad.

Mr. Calhoun was distinguished for the liberality and *nationality* of his views. He had just contributed, zealously and effectively, to establish the system of protecting and encouraging the manufacturers of the country; and he was at the time a strenuous advocate, and most active patron, of "internal improvements." He was the projector of the Yellow-stone River Expedition, and gloried in it. His portrait, suspended in his drawing-room, represented him unrolling a map of the Yellow-stone river country.

At his house, I saw Mr. McDuffie, then considered the flower of the Carolina delegation. He was said to have been a protegé of Mr. Calhoun, and his portrait occupied a place on the opposite wall. Mr. McDuffie possessed much acuteness and vigor, but I was never able to see in him, or his friend, any of those decided marks of transcendent intellectual endowments which would put him in the rank of first-rate men. Randolph was said to view McDuffie with jealousy, upon his first appearance in the House. He was very soon a-tilting at him, and they closed in mortal combat. Randolph's eyes were small, and as black as a snake's; and they flashed, on this occasion, with peculiar malignity. It was thought that he had rather the worst of it. One thing on McDuffie's part, was unjustifiable and ungentlemanly. He hinted at physical peculiarities, which might cause obliquity of the understanding.

I should call Mr. McDuffie a smart, rather than a great man. He was under an engagement to fight a Col. Cumming, of Georgia, and was keeping the affair suspended, under pretense of duty to his constituents. This seemed to me to be affectation, and a sort of ostentation of that which Southern young men deem their glory, though it is, in reality, their shame. But a great change is working, nay, is already wrought, in this respect. A few days ago, a great barbecue was given to a gentleman in South Carolina, for having *refused* to fight. This is coming upon New England ground. Mr. Cook, formerly of Boston, now of New-York, was publicly complimented, in one of the most respectable assemblages in Fanueil Hall, for declining a duel with a Mr. Burrell. The Honorable John Phillips, one of the favorite sons of the Bay State, gave at the table as a toast, the name of Cook and this sentiment: "He shows his heroism by maintaining the laws of his country, not by the murder of his countrymen."

Last winter I saw Mr. McDuffie totter into the Senate-chamber, the merest wreck and skeleton of one of the most active, compact, and vigorous of men. All accounts that I could hear, concurred in representing that he is racked with pains, occasioned by one of Cumming's bullets, lodged in the hip or spine; that he has no expectation of living but a short time, and was "waiting for death." He is not above fifty-five, and has the decrepitude of four score and ten. His mind is still bright, and he made a keen and vigorous attack upon the Oregon usurpation bill, brought forward by the late Dr. Linn.

D. L. C.

CAMPBELL'S FOREIGN SEMI-MONTHLY MAGAZINE.

Of the numerous reprints of foreign periodicals, this strikes us as by far the most interesting, to those who want really good reading, various in its kind. In the two numbers we have examined, there is scarcely an article that is not of unusual interest. The editor selects, with much judgment and taste, the *best* articles, by the most distinguished writers, in all the British periodicals. It embraces Criticism, History, Poetry, Stories, Travels Biographies, Art, Science, &c. In the number for December first, among articles all of which are of a superior order, we have read with peculiar pleasure, Reminiscences of Louis Phillippe, from Frazer's Magazine, Flaxman's Portrait, by Mrs. S. C. Hall, and the Memoirs of Jeremy Bentham, from the Edinburgh Review.

A sarcastic hit on the warlike archbishop of Bordeaux, excites a smile, while it refreshes the philanthropist, as one of the indications that the glory of war is passing away from a wiser world. The archbishop, in a public speech, in France, said, "My dear brethren, I was sometime ago in a foreign land, won *by the blood and valor of our soldiers*, and which is now a second France, where ideas of *glory, liberty, and civilization*, will rise in a few years——I mean *Algeria*."

The reviews says, "If we may trust the report of this speech, there were no roars of laughter at this; a fact which goes far to establish Sterne's theory, that the French are a grave nation. St. Paul would not have talked after this fashion; neither do we think would Fenelon; but then the author of Telémaque, though a French bishop, was a slow man at a jest. 'Won by blood and valor.' Those exquisite practical humorists, Richard Turpin and John Sheppard, would have thoroughly appreciated the wit; it would have been so much in their *own* way. All *their* goods and chattels were *won*, upon the road, or from the houses of other people. *Their* blood and valor were, unhappily, rewarded with hempen garlands; but then *they* did not bleed *in uniform*."

"Hear the archbishop's peroration: 'In whatever position you are placed, *keep up religion*. It is the tie of communication between the creature and the Creator. By it, consolation is received from that Father, who loves us with such tender love, and *who wishes us to live like the members of one family*.'

"And to that end teach the stubborn part of the family 'ideas of glory, liberty, and civilization.' To effect which, it may be necessary to be somewhat strict in discipline; a little stringent. Never mind that; you can still 'keep up religion.' Invade a country, but still 'keep up religion.' Slay, violate, murder, and destroy, and carry away some of the *family* in bondage. These are inevitable accidents; you can still 'keep up religion.' And when gorged and spent with slaughter, and black as fiends from the blazing bones of infidels, you may then smile sweetly in the face of heaven, and laying your bloody hands upon the gospel, taste the true content of Christians; for you have (in the archbishop's sense, at least,) 'kept up religion!'"

The November number contains a brief article, from the London Spectator, on the execution of Allan Mair, a man *eighty-four* years of age. This barbarous spectacle is spoken of in feeling and indignant terms. The writer says, "To one who has the progress of humanity at heart, there can be no wish stronger than that of seeing the fancied necessity for these exhibitions gradually disappear; and how is this achieved, but by venturing, in the most favorable cases, an experiment on the side of mercy, to be followed up as the results may warrant, until, *all* cases having come to be included, the long-cherished opinion of the value of human sacrifices shall be shown in this country, as it has already been shown in others, to be an error, founded only on the animal impulses of a darker age."

Each number of the Magazine contains 72 pages on good paper, in large, handsome type, and is embellished with a highly-finished engraving. Price, $5 a year, payable in advance; single numbers 25 cents. Families who wish to take a work which condenses for them the spirit of the best British periodicals, cannot do better than subscribe for this. Published by James M. Campbell, 98 Chestnut street, Philadelphia, and Otis, Broaders, & Co. Boston.

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE.

This document came too late for copious extracts; but it contains nothing of interest in relation to Texas. The amount of what it says on that subject, is thus told by the Tribune:

Mr. Tyler has hardly been able to screw his courage to the sticking point with regard to the annexation of Texas. He talks round and round it, "letting 'I dare not,' wait upon 'I would;'" rows up Mexico in every sort of savage way, ordering her to let Texas alone, as if he were a mighty monarch, and these belligerents were two provinces of his ample dominions, but finally subsides into a declaration that "the high obligation of public duty may enforce" some sort of a "policy," in prosecuting which, "the patriotism of the people will sustain the government." No doubt of it, if there is any prospect of carnage and spoliation ahead—any thing that smacks of the plunder of the churches of Mexico—there will be abundance of "patriotism" developed. However, the President does not plumply recommend the annexation of Texas, so let the matter pass.

Extract of a Letter from the Editor.

PHILADELPHIA, *Monday morning Dec. 4th.*

"As far as I can gather from the preliminary meetings, there is a decided disposition in our friends to re-unite, if they may, without compromise of principle, with any and every sincere and disinterested friend of the cause of genuine freedom. Our faithful and indefatigable coadjutors have returned from the Western campaign in high spirits, and with the best resolutions."

THE GAG LAW.

News from Washington inform us that the gag is again sustained in Congress. Mr. Adams's motion to except the 21st rule, was, as usual, rejected; yeas 91, nays 95. For the right of petition, 47 whigs, 44 democrats; against it, 15 (southern) whigs, 80 democrats.

Members from States that have nullified the district law, have, after some discussion, been admitted. This has brought forth a protest, signed by J. Q. Adams, and forty-nine other whig members.

MR. LEAVITT ONCE MORE.—While this person perseveres in concealing from his readers, as far as in him lies, the proofs of the acts with which he is charged, he has not scrupled to resort, in his last paper, to the desperate expedient of announcing to them, that the charges against him "have been officially withdrawn, by the *organ of the American Anti-Slavery Society*."

☞ Acknowledgments deferred.

Anti-Slavery Items.

OLD SCHOOL ANTI-SLAVERY.—The Chilicothe Presbytery, which appears to be about the most unruly member our Old School brethren are affected with, will not keep the position in which it was placed at the last assembly. It sent a memorial at that time, for some kind of action on the subject of slavery; the memorial was put under the table, and the presbytery severely rebuked. This unceremonious treatment had roused some indignation in the proscribed presbytery, and they have accordingly protested against the doings of the assembly, in a strong resolution, making grave charges against that body, for protecting such daring criminals as slaveholders from the censure of the church, and in refusing to hear their memorials against a prevalent sin.

LIBERATED SLAVES AT SIERRA LEONE.—The following is an extract from an article in the Sierra Leone Watchman:

The manner of recruiting for this regiment, the third West Indian, as it is called, is sometimes very summary. In July, 1842, there arrived in the harbor of Sierra Leone, a vessel with 184 re-captives. They had been obtained, not from slave ships, but from slave factories on the land.

They were much pleased, and exhibited enthusiastic joy, when the ship came to anchor. They deemed their deliverance at hand. I visited them immediately as they anchored; this was at eleven o'clock, A. M. At two, P. M. of the same day, the governor sent an officer on board, who selected 75 or 80 of the most portly and well-conditioned, and had them landed, and marched directly to the barracks, where they were enlisted in the regiment, to be trained, and in due time will be sent to take their turn in the West Indies.

Governor Pennington has addressed a letter to the executive of Virginia, to which no reply has been received, urging the exemption of New Jersey vessels from the operation of the retaliatory law of Virginia, designed to subject vessels from New-York to inspection and the payment of fees thereof. No fresh complaints on the subject have been made, and the governor expresses a hope that the cause may have been removed.

RUNNING SLAVES.—A letter from Washington, in the Baltimore Sun, dated Saturday, gives a long account of a frustrated attempt to "run" a number of slaves to Canada. The arrangements were made at the house of a colored man, named Bush, near the City Hall, whither a party of officers repaired, in the evening, and in a stable found a wagon, with the horses attached, containing a number of bundles, packages, &c. four colored women and two children. A white man was seen to approach the stable, soon after, having a colored man and woman in his company; the latter were arrested, with the others, but the white man was permitted to escape, the officers mistaking him for one of their party. Next came a colored man and two women. The first was arrested, but the women, taking the alarm, ran off. Three other women were to make up the party—thirteen in all—but the last three did not come in time, and were not arrested.

The letter says, that the wagon and horses belonged to a colored man, named Thomas Smallwood, formerly of Washington, but now of Toronto, in Canada, who arrived at Washington on Thursday night. Bush's wife gave up a bundle of letters, written by runaway negroes in Canada, to slaves in Washington, advising them to escape. Bush was arrested, as well as the ten above mentioned. The wagon and horses were seized. Smallwood had not been arrested when the letter was written.

HORRORS OF THE SLAVE-TRADE.—The following short account of the Brazilian slaver, *Progresso*, captured in the Mozambique channel, and sent into Simon's bay, in June last, is taken from a foreign paper:

No person who has not actually seen it, could form, it is creditably affirmed, any conception of the internal state of the *Progresso*, when fallen in with, on the 12th of April last, in latitude 17 25, South longitude 38 42, East, having been out one week. She was miserably rigged, not having sufficient canvass to show in a strong breeze, a sail borrowed from the *Cleopatra*, being the means of her coming to port in safety. The foulness of the air, and the diseased and wretched state of the slaves were productive of much mortality. On her being boarded and taken possession of, the slaves rushed up the hatchways, and made for the galley, seizing upon everything in the shape of food or drink, they could lay their hands upon, and their skeleton-looking frames passing blood as they crawled along the deck. During the nights these wretched creatures cried and screeched, it having been common for the older ones to bite and crush the younger ones, while closeness, stench, and disease, were productive of unquenchable thirst, and of extraordinary, incessant, and painful, though vain, efforts to procure water.

The *Progresso*, is a schooner-rigged, supposed not to exceed 170 tons, and of the following dimensions between decks:

Length of slave deck—47 feet. Breadth—23 feet, 6 inches. Height—3 feet, 6 inches.

In this confined space, actually not capable of stowing away more than 300, were found, wedged in, 447 human beings. The first night after being taken, (which is always the worst,) for fear that their exsitement might cause them to rise, necessity obliged the captors to put them under hatches, which on being opened on the following morning, 65 were found to have expired during the night, from over excess, disease, and the too crowded state of the vessel, notwithstanding the utmost care, and previous removal of 50 negroes on board H. M. S. *Cleopatra*, and from that time, until her arrival, and landing them in Simon's Bay, June 1st, 110 more perished, leaving only 222 alive, all more or less in a sickly, emaciated state; thus reducing their number one-half, during their confinement on board.

KIDNAPPING THE KIDNAPPED.—Some time back, a slave family was stolen in Worcester, Maryland, by two men from Kentucky, named Dickson and Vail. The following is the account of their capture:

Information was received in this place that Dickson and Vail, with the negroes thus kidnapped, had come up the river Potomac in a vessel, landed below this town, and proceeded towards Leesburg, in Virginia. On Saturday night, three young men, James Chatham, James Cole, and Thomas Javins, started in pursuit, and about 12 o'clock the same night found the kidnappers at a house beyond Dranesville. The party, headed by Chatham, who, throughout the affair, displayed the greatest coolness and discretion, forced their way to the room where Vail and Dickson lodged, and commanded them to surrender. Vail drew a pistol and fired at Chatham, the ball passing within a few inches of his head. Before he could fire a second time Chatham felled him to the floor, and Cole and Javins, having prostrated Dickson, the two ruffians were secured and bound in a very short time. The negroes were in the same house, and seemed much rejoiced at being rescued from the kidnappers.

We have been informed that the slaves of the South are generally taught that abolitionists are such as these men, stealing slaves or free colored people for the purpose of selling them.

SLAVE-TRADE.—We learn from the *British Anti-Slavery Reporter*, that Joseph Sturge had received a letter informing that eight or ten slavers were being fitted out at Barcelona, in Spain. By treaty Spain agreed to abolish the slave-trade more than twenty years ago, and received from Great Britain several millions of dollars, as compensation for it. By the laws of Spain, slave-trading is punishable by confiscation of vessels and cargo, and ten years imprisonment of the persons concerned therein.

Extract of a letter from a northern minister at Waterbury, Va.:

"No worshippers are said to be more attentive and reverent than the negroes. One of the members of the Constitutional Synod of Virginia, in session at Petersburg last week, preached to one of those colored congregations on Sabbath morning last. After service, a dignified old lady, a mother in their Israel, observed to the preacher: 'The people were dissatisfied with your sermon this morning.' 'Why, aunty,' replied the surprised preacher who had done as well as he could, 'what is the matter? what do you find fault about?' 'Oh,' rejoined the old lady, with much deference in her manner, 'you preached so short, master. The people had just begun to get a taste of it.' The fact was, that the minister gave them only thirty-five minutes, whereas they had adjusted their ears for a sermon of at least an hour and a half. In some of these churches, there being no hymn books, the preacher recites the first two lines of the hymn, after singing which, the remaining two lines are sung, and so on through the hymn. But in the African Methodist Church, in which Rev. Mr. R. preached, they have a regular choir in the gallery, with hymn books, music books, &c. and often the free cannot be distinguished from the bond, so well dressed are they all, and so becoming as well as happy, in their demeanor. Execrated of God and man as is the slave-trade, it cannot be denied that hundreds of thousands of the descendants of Africa have been Christianized in this land, who, had they been born in Africa, would have died amid the moral midnight of the soul. Such is the tendency of divine benevolence, rich in indication, energetic in execution, ever educing good from evil, ever extracting the sweet from the bitter, making ferocity itself subservient to its blessed aims, and eliminating the nourishment of the inward life out of materials morally indigestible.

It always pains and offends us deeply to hear the observation which is repeated in the conclusion of the above. As a motive of thankfulness to God, (in which view it is seldom urged,) it is well enough, but as a palliative of the guilt, and relief to the consciences of men, it is most subtle wickedness.

GENERAL INTELLIGENCE.

General Items.

Texas.—The latest New Orleans journals state that President Houston attended a public entertainment given to him by the people of the city of Houston, and addressed his friends. He gave the lie direct to the charges brought against him, both in Texas and in this country, of being an abolitionist, of meditating treason, conniving at the supremacy of Mexico, and colonial vassalage to England.

The British government, according to the New Orleans Bee, has presented claims of its subjects to land in Texas, amounting to from ten to twenty millions of acres! They are principally Empresario grants. These demands will probably cover nearly all the public domain west of the Colorado river; and the government of Texas has been notified by Captain Elliott, in accordance with the instruction he has received, that unless the facts set forth by those claimants are referred, or a satisfactory explanation given, her majesty's government would feel fully authorized to take the necessary step to enforce the just claims of those her liege subjects.

Resolutions in favor of *annexing Texas* to the Union have been adopted at a public meeting in Belleville, Illinois, Governor Reynolds advocating them!

A Caution.—Dr John S. Wolcott, son of the late governor Wolcott, and the last of the Wolcotts in Litchfield, died suddenly on the 22d instant, from putting arsenic in a tooth, to alleviate the toothache.

The Homicidal Runaways.—Our readers may remember the murder of a Mr. Greene, some time ago, in Florida, by a party of runnaway negroes, who afterward escaped to New Providence. The grand jury of the Southern district of Florida have found an indictment against them for the murder, as foundation for a demand upon the colonial authorities at Nassau for their surrender. We suppose, however, that the negroes will be out of New Providence jurisdiction before the demand reaches the island.

Awful Consequences of Drunkenness.—A slip from the office of the Bangor Gazette, dated Saturday evening, gives the following:

We learn by Mr. Lincoln, the driver of the Ellsworth stage, that a large English ship went ashore at Gouldsboro', in the blow on Tuesday night. There were twenty-two persons on board, eighteen of whom were lost.

The four who were saved reported that *the captain officers and crew, at the time of the disaster, were all drunk*; and that they saved themselves by going into the topmast rigging, and swinging themselves ashore as the vessel was rolled by the surf.

When discovered, one of them was found wedged in between two rocks, and it required the strength of several men to extricate him. The ship was in ballast, and was bound to St. Johns, N. B.

Death by Hydrophobia.—A small boy, about 7 years of age, son of Mr. Hugh Reed, of this town, died of that most dreadful of all diseases, hydrophobia, on Thursday morning last. He was bitten by a rabid dog some four or five weeks previous to his death. A man by the name of Brigham, to whom we believe the dog belonged, was also bitten about the same time, whose present feelings may be better imagined that described. —*Patterson N. J. Int.*

More Lynching in Ohio. A colored man named McDonald, employed by some Kentucky slaveholders at $2 per day to ascertain the station and route of those who make it their business to run slaves to Canda, was lynched a short time since by the colored people of Springfield, Ohio. Their sable honors formed a lynch court, and with much gravity tried and sentenced the fellow to receive thirty-nine lashes on the bare back, and immediately executed the sentence! The whole matter has been brought before the grand jury.

Assassination.—Last evening, about 6 o'clock, Mr. William G. Benham, brother-in-law of the senior editor of this paper, was stabbed at the White Mansion, corner of Market and Third streets, by Talbot Oldham, son of Judge Oldham, of Jefferson county. Some slight quarrel having taken place, Oldham stabbed Mr. Benham twice with a bowie-knife, once in the arm near the shoulder, severing a large artery, and once in the back. Mr. B. died about midnight. We do not wish at present to detail all the circumstances of the occurrence, but if they have been truly detailed to us by eye-witnesses, the act was as atrocious a murder as ever was perpetrated. Mr. B. was entirely unarmed.

The assassin, who even before this act, had an infamous notoriety here, immediately mounted a horse and fled from the city. The sheriff subsequently went in pursuit, but we have not learned whether he succeeded in catching him.—*Louisville (Ky.) Journal.*

How the young idea is taught to shoot.—Two lads, classmates of the University of Philadelphia, went out on Saturday to shoot robins, and after this was over, concluded to have a sham duel. They were to fight with powder, only, but unfortunately, one of the barrels of one of the guns had not been discharged, and on firing, the contents were lodged in the face of one of the parties. His wounds are not serious.

Murder at Shreveport.—An affray occurred at Shreveport, in this State, a few days ago, between Arthur Rice, a tailor, and James Elsworth, a ferryman on Bayou Pierre, in which Rice was stabbed with a butcher's knife, causing his death in a short time. The deceased was armed with a pistol, and very much intoxicated. Elsworth was committed.—*N. O. Pic.*

Shocking Accident.—A young man, a resident of Kensington, named Peter Hague, was gunning alone in the vicinity of Rose Hill, on Wednesday. While crossing a fence, his foot came in contact with the trieger of the gun, which went off, and lodged the whole charge in his stomach. Being alone, his situation can well be imagined as an unenviable one. Gathering strength, however, he contrived to reach a house near by, where he received that attention which his injuries demanded.—*Philadelphia Chronicle.*

Health of Mr. Adams.—We regret to learn from our Washington correspondent, that the venerable Ex-President is very feeble, and greatly prostrated by the fatigues of his late journey.—*N. Y. Sun.*

A saddler, named Doyle, of Little Rock, (Arkansas,) killed his wife on the 20th ultimo, by pouring a boiling pot of rosin and grease over her head. The poor woman's screams were heard half a mile distant. Her head and face were entirely coated and seared with the pitch, which had run into her bosom and down the back of her neck. The husband escaped, but was pursued, and at length found lying dead on his face in a little rivulet, with his throat cut from ear to ear, and a bloody jack-knife clasped tightly in his hand.

An Acquital.—The Richmond, (Indiana,) Palladium says—"The reader will probably recollect seeing an account of a young woman who killed her father, last summer, in Rush county, in this State, while he was beating and choking his wife—the mother of the girl. Her name is Eliza Hubbard. The trial occupied several days, and the defense was put upon two grounds—the necessary defense of the mother and mental derangement at the time. The name of the man who was killed was Philip Barger, who was notorious as drunken, wicked and profligate. The jury was out about one hour when they returned a verdict of—not guilty.

Minute Mechanism.—By a measurement lately made by one skilled in curiosities, it is found that the silkworm's thread is so fine that one drachm of it will extend a distance of one hundred and eighty-five miles and ninety-two feet; while the same weight of a common grass-spider's thread will reach two hundred and twelve miles and seventy-four feet.

A Scorpion in Logwood.—A man called on Dr. Devan, on Monday morning, in great anxiety, bringing with him a scorpion four inches long, that came out from the hollow end of a stick of logwood, which he was sawing, and bit one of his fingers. The finger was a good deal swolen, and the inflammation was rapidly increasing. The circumstance shows that some caution is necessary in dealing with hollow wood from the climate of vipers.

An Important Discovery.—A means of instantly stopping a horse when he runs away, has been discovered in France. It is contrived by means of a spring connected with the horse's eyes. This was done in an instance when the animals were at the top of their speed, and the result was their instantaneous stoppage; for, the light being suddenly excluded, horses no more rush forward, says the discoverer, without seeing their way, than would a man afflicted with blindness.—*True Sun.*

NOTICES.

POLITICAL ACTION AGAINST SLAVERY.

All persons in the city and county of Philadelphia, and in the neighboring counties, who are disposed to use their political influence for the overthrow of slavery, are invited to meet at the hall of the Wilbur Fisk Institute, northwest corner of Sixth and Haines streets, on *Tuesday evening*, the 12th instant, at 7 o'clock, for the purpose of considering and adopting plans for united and efficient action. It is hoped that all who feel interested in the subject, will be present.

SAMUEL D. HASTINGS,
THOMAS EARLE,
J. MILLER McKIM.

Philada. December 7th, 1843.

To the Friends of Universal Inquiry and Reform, in Eastern Pennsylvania.

Dear friends,—After mature deliberation, we have concluded to issue a call for one or more conventions, to be held in Philadelphia and its vicinity, early in December, for the discussion of questions of universal interest to humanity.

A preliminary meeting to make arrangements for them will be held on Sunday evening, the 3d of December, 7o'clock, at the house of E. James, 380 Girard Row, High street.

At these conventions, our friends, J. A. Collins, of Boston, J. Orvis, of Ohio, and Mrs. Rose, of New-York, are confidently expected to cheer us by their presence—to strengthen our hands and our hearts by their zeal in the cause,—and acquaintance with the subject,—a subject which commends itself to the earnest attention of all the true-hearted friends of humanity. There is also some prospect of those able advocates of the cause, J. C. Wattles, of Ohio, N. H. Whiting, of Massachusetts, and Jacob Ferris, of New-York, being in attendance.

The hope that the friends of the cause in Eastern Pennsylvania will interest themselves in regard to these conventions, in making arrangements for them—in attending themselves, and also in inducing others in their respective neighborhoods, and all those with whom they have influence, to attend them.

Philadelphia, Nov. 14, 1843. { S. SELLERS, Jun. B. C. BACON, B. S. JONES,

PHILADELPHIA FEMALE A. S. SOCIETY.

The members of this society are requested to call at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, and obtain memorials to Congress and to the State Legislature for circulation. Let the work of soliciting subscribers be promptly commenced.

COMMUNITY PLACE, Mottville, Onondaga Co. N. Y. November 24th, 1843.

DEAR FRIEND CHILD.—Many of your readers are doubtless aware, that the friends of social reform have selected a location in this place, for the establishment of a community of property and interest, to the end, that a demonstration of the true condition of man may be made. Rejecting the hoary dogma of man's natural depravity, we assert that human nature is pure, noble, divine. That man is the victim of false relations—that the miseries, wrongs, and outrages, which he hath suffered from, and inflicted upon, his neighbor, proceed not from a love of suffering and contention, but, on the contrary, from ignorance and inexperience; and therefore, that wisdom should be his only teacher, love his only governor, and truth his only Saviour—that human rights are equal, the world over—that the earth and its products are the common property of the race—that all buying and selling are monstrous falsehoods—that all sects and parties, civil or ecclesiastical, priests and politicians, churches and governments, are monstrosities of ignorance, superstition, and bigotry—that bodily, mental, and social disease, is the effect of a violation of law; and their only remedy, is obedience to that law.

To disseminate light and truth upon all the preceding points; to place ourselves in a position for progressive improvement in the truthful, the beautiful, and the good; and, to give efficacy to our efforts for changing man's present false relations for true ones, the world over—between fifty and sixty persons are upon the premises, busily engaged in labors preparatory to more extensive operations.

In order to put themselves more directly in communication with the public, and to have their principles and measures better understood, the friends have concluded to issue a newspaper, as often as the interest of the cause shall demand, and means shall be secured.

It will not be necessary to say that "The Communitist" will be a free journal, to advocate the claims of humanity upon the most broad and universal sense.

The terms of the paper will be "Without money, and without price."

All who desire the paper forwarded to them, are requested to send their address to the subscribers, Mottville, Onondaga Co. N. Y. Postage should always be paid.

JOHN A. COLLINS,
JOSEPH A. WHITMARSH,
JOHN ORVIS,
GEORGE PRYOR.

TENTH MASSACHUSETTS A. S. FAIR.

The undersigned give notice that the tenth Massachusetts Anti-Slavery Fair will be held in Boston, during the next Christmas and New-Year's season; and they ask the help of all who value human freedom, knowing that the appeal must find a response in every good, Christian heart: for it is not a sectarian scheme—it is not a political party, which they have in view; but a great national undertaking for humanity. Not forcibly, but peacefully; not in the spirit of hatred, but, as it has been begun, in the spirit of love, would they have this generation accomplish its great work on earth—the extinction of slavery. It is a work which cannot safely be delayed an hour; and they hope, by this effort, to do much towards awakening all hearts to the emergency.

The funds raised will be devoted, as heretofore, to the diffusion of anti-slavery truth, and to sustaining and cheering onward such devoted persons as have given their lives to the glad yet severe service of arousing an unwilling nation to a sense of its moral responsibilities.

M. W. Chapman, *Lavinia Hilton,*
Ann T. G. Phillips, *Hannah Tufts,*
Mary G. Chapman, *Catherine Sargent,*
Susan Cabot, *M. A. W. Johnson,*
Eliza Lee Follen, *Caroline Weston,*
Olivia Bowditch, *Anna R. Philbrick,*
Sarah S. Russell, *Mary Young,*
Sarah B. Shaw, *Harriet Jackson,*
Helen E. Garrison, *Mary F. Rogers,*
Louisa Loring, *Louisa M. Sewell,*
Anne Warren Weston, *Caroline F. Williams,*
Thankful Southwick, *Abby Southwick,*
Henrietta Sargent, *Mary Willey,*
Maria White, *Marian Fuller.*

IMPORTANT MEETING.

The annual meeting of the (Central) New-York State Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Utica, on the 19th and 20th of December. Friends from Massachusetts and other places are expected to be present, and an earnest invitation has been extended to those able advocates of our cause, the Hutchinsons. Questions of the utmost importance, and courses of action of the deepest moment, now present themselves for discussion and for choice.

☞ Let all friends of the cause and the American Society make exertions to attend.

For Executive Committee:
S. LIGHTBODY, *Chairman.*
WM. C. ROGERS, *Sec'y.*

WESTERN NEW-YORK MEETINGS.

The annual meeting of the New-York (Western) State Anti-Slavery Society, auxiliary to the American Anti-Slavery Society, will be held at Rochester, on the 12th and 13th of December. Meetings of an interest corresponding to the great importance of the moment to the success of the anti-slavery cause, are anticipated. It is hoped that Messrs. Hutchinson will be present.

J. C. HATHAWAY, *Cor. Sec'y.*

WESTERN NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

We invite the attention of the public to the second air of the Western New-York Anti-Slavery Sewing Society, to be held 22d of 2d month, (February) next, the avails of which are designed for the dissemination of truth on the subject of slavery, and to enlighten public opinion as far as in us lies, to its great evils and direful consequences.

For the welfare of the oppressor as well as the oppressed, we deem it our imperative duty to call upon the friends of humanity to aid us in our labors for the overthrow of this high-handed sin, and knowing the present only is ours, we adopt the language of Blair: "Let him who wishes to see others happy, make haste to give while his gift can be enjoyed, reflecting that the day rolls on, and the night cometh, when no man can work;" and let us bear in mind the words of the blessed Jesus "Inasmuch as ye have done it unto the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto me." It is our earnest desire there may not be any found yielding to discouragements, with the impression that the little they can do will avail nothing, but remember "He that is faithful in the little shall be made ruler over much."

Anything from the farmer, merchant, or mechanic, will be gratefully received; and we ask our friends in the country, or different towns in Western New-York, far and near, to prepare articles and attend with us as their company to cheer us in our labors at the Fair will be inspiriting and salutary to our best feelings.

Any donation, whether it be butter, cheese, potatoes, nuts, or any kind of fruit, or whatever it may please our friends to offer, either previous, or at the time of the Fair, may be forwarded to the president, Abigail Rush, Buffalo street, opposite the burrying ground, corner of Litchfield street, or to Post and Willis, No. 4 Exchange street, Rochester.

Committee—Abigail Bush, Amy Post, Ann Pound, Elizabeth G. Curtiss, Mary H. Hallowell, Mary B. Fish, Catharine A. Fish, Charlotte Sears, Sarah A. Burtis, Sarah L. Hallowell, Sarah D. Fish.

Rochester, 9th mo. 14th, 1843.

P. S. Some stocking yarn, forthwith from any of our friends would be very acceptable.

TO THE ABOLITIONISTS OF RHODE ISLAND

Beloved Friends:—Let there be no delay in making a vigorous and united effort to pour in a flood of petitions, or *one mass* petition, to the legislature at the January session. This labor is yours to perform. May no unfaithfulness on your part, defeat its success. Petitions will be found at the anti-slavery office in Providence. In the name of the slave and the injured colored man, I entreat you, one and all, be up and doing this great effort.

C. M. BURLEIGH, *Agt.*
Rhode Island Anti-Slaver Society.

O'CONNELL'S ADDRESS.

For sale at the Anti-Slavery Office, Philadelphia, *O'Connell's letter to the Cincinnati Repealers; complete* in pamphlet form. Price two cents per single copy, twenty cents per dozen. This is O'Connell's last and best address on the subject of American slavery, and one of the best pamphlets for anti-slavery circulation ever published. Every abolitionist ought to supply himself with a quantity for distribution.

CENTRAL NEW-YORK ANTI-SLAVERY FAIR.

It is with the most joyful expectancy that the committee of women of the Central New-York Anti-Slavery Society, in conformity to the resolution adopted last spring, issue the call for the Fair to be held during Christmas and New-Year's season.

The success of our Syracuse Fair, through which we have been enabled to throw into the hands of our executive committee the means for sustaining an able advocate of the rights of humanity, in his arduous labors, encourages us to renewed efforts, that we may, if possible, instead of sustaining one, raise the means of sustaining four or five efficient agents, who, in conjunction with others, shall go forward with the deep plough of reform, and the seed wheat of humanity, and in a short space shall make this slavery-cursed desert of America bloom and blossom like the rose, with the flowers of mercy, truth, and justice. What heart shall be found in Central New-York, that will beat no warm response to the call for help! Will not every town, yes, every neighborhood, form its sewing circle, and send or bring up their contributions at the time appointed? Will not the free farmers bring from their stores, which God's bounty has so lavishly bestowed upon them? Will there be

Poetry.

THE ROOM OF THE HOUSEHOLD

BY ELIZA COOK.

There's a room I love dearly—the sanctum of bliss,
That holds all the comforts I least like to miss;
Where, like ants in a hillock, we run in and out,
Where sticks grace the corner, and hats lie about;
Where no idlers dare come to annoy or amuse,
With their "morning call" budget of scandalous news.
'Tis the room of the household—the sacredly free—
'Tis the room of the household that's dearest to me.

The romp may be fearlessly carried on there,
For no "bijouterie" rubbish solicits our care:
All things are as meet for the hand as the eye,
And patchwork and scribbling unheeded may lie;
Black Tom may be perched on the sofa or chairs,
He may stretch his sharp talons, and scatter his hairs:
Wet boots may "come in," and the ink-drop may fall,
For the room of the household is "liberty hall."

There is something unpleasant in company days,
When saloons are dressed out for Terpsichore's maze;
When the graceful Mazourka and Weippert led band
Leave the country-dance people all at a stand.
There's more mirth in the jig and the amateur's strum,
When the parchment-spread battledoor serves as a drum;
When Apollo and Momus together unite,
Till the household room rings with our laughing delight.

Other rooms may be thickly and gorgeously stored
With your Titians, Murrillos, Salvator and Claude;
But the Morland and Wilkie that hang on the wall
Of the family parlor, out-value them all.
The gay ottomans, claiming such special regard,
Are exceedingly fine, but exceedingly hard;
They may serve for state purposes—but go, if you please,
To the household room cushions for comfort and ease.

And the bookshelves—where tomes of all sizes are spread
Not placed to be looked at, but meant to be read:
All defaced and bethumbed, and I would not be sworn
But some volumes, perchance the most precious, are torn.
There's the library open, but if your heart yearns,
As all human hearts must, for the song of a Burns,
Or the tale of a "Vicar," that ever rich gem,
You must go to the room of the household for them.

'Tis the shadiest place, when the blazing sun flings
His straight rays on the rose and the butterfly's wings;
For the first beams of morning are all that dare peep
Through the windows where myrtle and eglantine creep.
Happy faces assemble with cheerful salute,
When the summer meal tempts with its cream and its fruit;
But the board's not so merry, the meal's not so sweet,
If 'tis out of the room of the household we meet.

And that room is the one that is sought by us still,
When the night-clouds of winter bring darkness and chill;
When the ramblers return from their toil or their play,
And tell over the news and the deeds of the day.
When the favored old dog takes his place on the rug,
Curled up in the firelight—all warmly and snug:
While the master sits nodding before the bright flame,
Till the hound snores aloud, and the 'Squire does the same.

I have wandered far off over "moorland and lea,"
O'er the fairest of earth and the bluest of sea;
It was health that I sought—but, alas! I could find
The pursuit was in vain while my heart looked blind;
The room of the household had bound with a spell,
And I knew not till then that I loved it so well.
"Take me back to that room," was my prayer and my cry,
"Or my languishing spirit will sicken and die."

There was light in my glance when I saw the green wood
Of old elm trees half screening the turreted roof;
I grew strong as I passed o'er the daisy-girt track,
And the Newfoundland sentinel welcomed me back.
But the pulse of my joy was most warmly sincere,
When I met the old faces, familiar and dear:
When I lounged in the "household room," taking my rest,
With a tinge on my cheek, and content in my breast.

THE REASON WHY

BY MRS. SIGOURNEY.

I saw a little girl,
With half-uncovered form,
And wondered why she wandered thus
Amid the winter storm.
They said her mother drank of that
Which took her sense away,
And so she let her children go
Hungry and cold all day.

I saw them lead a man
To prison for his crime,
Where solitude, and punishment,
And toil, divide the time;
And as they forced him through the gate,
Unwillingly alone,
They told me 'twas intemperance
That made him do the wrong.

I saw a woman weep
As if her heart would break;
They said her husband drank too much
Of what he should not take.
I saw an unfrequented mound,
Where weeds and brambles wave—
They said no tear had fallen there—
It was the drunkard's grave.

They said these were not all
The risks the intemperate run,
For there was danger lest the soul
Be evermore undone.
Since water, then, is pure and sweet,
And beautiful to see,
And since it cannot do us harm,
It is the drink for me.

THE SLAVE IN THE DISMAL SWAMP.

BY H. W. LONGFELLOW.

In dark fens of the dismal swamp,
The hunted Negro lay;
He saw the fire of the midnight camp,
And heard at times a horses' tramp,
And a bloodhound's distant bay.

Where will'-o'-the-wisps and glow-worms shine,
In bulrush and in brake;
Where waving mosses shroud the pine,
And the cedar grows, and the poisonous vine
Is spotted like the snake;

Where hardly a human foot could pass,
Or a human heart would dare,
On the quaking turf of the green morass,
He crouched in the rank and tangled grass,
Like a wild beast in his lair.

A poor old slave, infirm and lame;
Great scars deformed his face;
On his forehead he bore the brand of shame,
And the rags that hid his mangled frame,
Were the livery of disgrace.

All things above were bright and fair;
All things were glad and free;
Lithe squirrels darted here and there,
And wild birds filled the echoing air
With songs of Liberty!

On him alone was the doom of pain,
From the morning of his birth;
On him alone the curse of Cain
Fell, like a flail on the garnered grain,
And struck him to the earth!

Miscellany.

A SUTTEE.

The N. Y. Albion has for some time been publishing a series of papers from the diary of an Old Forest Ranger. In the last publication of that paper, is the annexed description of a *suttee*, or self-immolation, of a Hindoo woman, which the Old Ranger and his companions witnessed.

The *suttee* took place at a village a few miles from our camp; and, horrible as it may sound, to stand by and see a fellow-creature—a woman—burnt to death, yet, my brother and the young civilian, being the only magistrates in the neighborhood, considered it their duty to attend to the ceremony, in hopes of dissuading the infatuated victim from her purpose; or, failing of this, at least to rescue her, in the event of her springing off the pile: for, if no Europeans were present, the brutal Brahmins would, under such circumstances, thrust her back in the flames: and instances have occurred where the woman's life has been saved by the interposition of a magistrate, even after the fatal pile has been lighted.

When we arrived at the spot, we found a number of Brahmins erecting the funeral pile close to the sea; and it excited feelings of unutterable disgust, to see the relations of the unfortunate widow laughing and jesting, as they arranged the horrid apparatus. They appeared to look forward with pleasure, to the approaching tragedy, and no one seemed to bestow a single thought upon the fearful sufferings which the victim of superstition must endure, ere the sacrifice was completed.

The pile was composed of logs of wood, interspersed with layers of dry straw, sugar-canes, and other combustibles; this was covered with a mat: and, to render it more inflammable, was saturated with *ghee*, or clarified butter. The height of the erection might be about four feet, the breadth being just sufficient to admit of two bodies, lying side by side; and above it, was a platform of dried wood, so constructed as to fall upon the bodies, as soon as the fire consumed the slight props by which it was supported.

After about two hours spent in building the pile, a confused din of trumpets and tom-toms announced the arrival of the widow, preceded by the corpse of her husband, and followed by a crowd of friends and relations. She was a beautiful young creature, not more than eighteen or nineteen years of age; and my blood ran cold, as I saw her led forth, like a lamb to the slaughter.

Much as I had heard of the courage displayed by Indian women, in the act of self-immolation, I did not believe it possible that one so young, and of so delicate a frame as the present victim, could behold the dreadful apparatus prepared for her destruction, without a shudder. But no traces, either of sorrow, or of fear, were visible on her placid countenance. She seemed to have taken leave of this world forever, and to have fixed her every thought on the prospect of meeting her husband in eternity.

Her pale, interesting features, gave the most perfect idea of resignation. And her firm step, and self-possessed manner, satisfied us that no exciting, or stupifying drugs had been administered to prepare her for the awful ceremony.

We had come, determined to save the poor creature, if possible, and were more than ever anxious to do so, now that we had seen her.

While the corpse was being prepared for the funeral pile, we insisted on being allowed an interview with the intended victim, and made use of every argument we could think of, to dissuade her from her purpose. We offered to make her a handsome allowance for life, and to protect her from the malice of the priests, if she only consented to live. But all was of no avail. The accursed Brahmins had done their work too well.

If a widow refuses to sacrifice herself, those crafty hypocrites, those ministers of the devil, expel her from her caste, with curses and ignominy; she is looked upon as a degraded being; she cannot marry again; she becomes an outcast, shunned and despised by all; and even her nearest relative dare not countenance her. In the temples, women are daily exhorted to this act of self-immolation, by promises of eternal happiness; and threatened with poverty, scorn, and infamy, if they allow the natural love of life to prevail.

Is it, then, to be wondered at, that poor, ignorant creatures, thus urged and threatened by a crafty priesthood, prefer death, even a fiery death on the funeral pile, to life purchased at such a price.

The poor girl appeared grateful for the interest we took in her; and a tear—the first we had seen her shed—trembled on her long, silken eyelashes, as she thanked us; but her resolution remained unshaken. She presented each of us with a cocoanut, which she begged us to keep for her sake; and, waving her hand with the air of an inspired being, she motioned us to withdraw.

To my dying day, I never shall forget that scene.

As we turned to depart, I saw a devilish smile of triumph steal over the countenance of the officiating priest.

The corpse having been stripped, and washed in the sea, was stretched, naked as it was, upon the ground, in front of the funeral pile; and the widow, seating herself at the head, prepared to take leave of her relations. It was very affecting to see her aged mother throw herself at her daughter's feet, kiss them, and bid her farewell.

The poor girl's firmness could not withstand this trial—she wept bitterly—but it was only for a moment. Waving her hand as if wishing to be left to her own thoughts, she appeared to forget everything upon earth, and with her face raised to Heaven, called incessantly on her gods. Her attitude was that of intense devotion; and, except when disturbed by persons kissing her feet, or making her touch cocoanuts, which are then esteemed holy, she never moved a limb.

During the time, the priests chanted passages from their sacred books, promising eternal happiness to their poor victim, if she kept up her courage, and completed the sacrifice. When they had finished, the corpse was laid upon the funeral pile, and the widow, unassisted, walked three times around it. Having completed the third round, her little brother knelt at her feet and kissed them, while her father poured oil upon her head; and, the unfeeling monsters who surrounded her, many of them women, raised a joyful shout, mingled with peals of laughter, as if exulting at the near approach of the last awful ceremony. It was fearful, to behold such hardness of heart, particularly among women.

The young widow's earthly career was now drawing to a close. A few moments more, and she would be suffering the most horrible of deaths. But her eye quailed not, nor did her lips quiver. She ascended the fatal pile, as if it had been her bridal bed; and, stretching herself by the side of the loathsome corpse, already in an advanced stage of decay, she clasped it in her arms, and rested her beautiful head on the breast, which was, literally, a weltering mass of corruption.

It was fearful to behold the living and the dead thus united; to contrast the rounded limbs and graceful figure of that fair girl, with the bloated, grinning corpse which she held in her embrace. My heart sickened at the sight, and a deadly faintness came over me; but I had strength to see the tragedy completed.

I was close to the pile, and watched the poor victim's countenance narrowly; it was pale as death, but perfectly placid. She never moved a muscle, and appeared more like a marble image than a living being. Even on the brink of eternity, with the prospect of so fearful a death before her eyes, the fortitude inspired by a blind and devoted superstition, supported her through the trial.

When all the preparations were completed, a horrid yell was raised, and a number of men rushed, with lighted torches, towards the pile, shouting, dancing, and screaming like demons. In an instant the whole was in flames. Heaps of burning straw fell on the two bodies. The death shriek of the wretched victim was drowned amid the roar of a thousand voices.

The flickering flame rose high above the pile. All was one glowing mass of fire, and the poor creature's sufferings were ended. Once I saw her struggle, but it was only for a moment, and dreadful though her last agony must have been, it could not have lasted above a few seconds. The wind was high, and the dry wood burnt with such fury that in a few minutes, more than half of the pile was consumed, and no one would have guessed that two human bodies were smouldering in the midst of it.

As we turned to leave the accursed spot, the worthy doctor, who had hitherto remained a silent, but deeply affected spectator of the dreadful ceremony, found it impossible any longer to restrain his indignation, and striding up to the principal Brahmin, he gave vent to his outraged feeling, by damning him to his heart's content, in choice Malabar, of all known languages, the one most abounding in powerful anathemas.

The haughty Brahmin, accustomed to lord it over the timid Hindoos, stood perfectly aghast at being thus bearded, in presence of his disciples, by an unbelieving kaffer. He was "something more than wrath," and would doubtless have roasted poor Macphee alive, had he possessed the power to do so. As it was, he had to brook the insult as best he might, while the doctor, spitting on the ground, in token of his utter disgust, thrust his hands deep into his pockets, and walked away evidently much relieved by this outpouring of his wrath.

Since the time I write of, the Indian government, on the principle of "better late than never," have succeeded in putting a stop to these barbarous sacrifices. But I look upon it as a lasting disgrace to the British nation, that such diabolical cruelty should have been so long tolerated.

It used to be said, that it might endanger the country to interfere with the superstitious observances of the natives. A feeble excuse for a still more feeble policy. Did we not, many years before, when our hold upon the country was much less firm than at the time I write of, put a stop to the sacrificing female children! And what consequence ensued? None, whatever; the mass of the people blessed us for our interference. Why then were suttees tolerated? Who were the instigators and perpetrators of those heathenish rites? A small portion of the population. None but high-caste Brahmins burnt their widows; and had we then, as we have now, declared any one guilty of murder who assisted at such a ceremony; or, by threats or promises, instigated others to do so, we should not only have acted a manly and a Christian part, but have saved thousands of victims from a miserable death: and, as the result proves, without, in the slightest degree, diminishing our influence in the country.

From the New-York Evening Post.

THE RIGHTS OF WOMEN.

A bill has passed the Senate of Tennessee, by a very large majority, to secure to married women, the use and enjoyment of their own property. The justice of such a measure seems at once so apparent, that it is matter of wonder why it is now for the first time, to be established by law. The principles of the English common law have been so deeply grafted into our jurisprudence, that this, and similar measures have met with but little countenance in most of the States, because of the great and important changes which they were likely to produce in one of the fundamental rules of that law. This sort of opposition, however, is the fruit of prejudice, and justice has been denied solely to prevent an innovation on long established usages. Under the civil law, which prevails in Louisiana, no distinction is made as to the right of women to their property.

Several years since, Judge Hertell, when a member of the assembly of this State, made strenuous efforts to reform this particular feature of our laws. For some reason or other, in the face of the most able and convincing report, which he made on that occasion, his bill was defeated. The measure has not again been introduced to the legislature, but we hope that at the next session, some member will be just and bold enough to undertake a thorough investigation of the subject, and insist upon such action as the importance of the case demands.

The Nashville Union, remarking upon the course of the Tennessee legislature, says:

"We ought not to refuse to do right, because it has been customary to do wrong. Common justice demands that every person, man as well as woman, should have the absolute control of whatever estate he or she is lawfully possessed: why, then, should it cease to be just for a woman to retain all her property, when she contracts marriage? What is there in the contract or the relation, that should compel her instantly to lose her hold upon her own?

"Under the old law, which has been miscalled 'the perfection of wisdom,' how many worthy women have been reduced from competency to beggary? how many have been the victims of worthless fortune-hunters? how many have suffered cruel privations from miserly husbands? how many have been left penniless widows, their property being taken to pay their husband's debts? The law now proposed, simply provides that the wife should have the same undisturbed control of her own estate after marriage, which she had before. It prevents her property from passing out of her hands, on marriage, by mere operation of law, without her consent. It elevates woman one step higher in the scale of being, and gives her a rank which, in all Christian countries, she has proved herself to deserve. And besides all this, the measure injures no one—it takes from no man anything that belongs to him—it will prevent frauds and the smuggling of property."

From the U. S. Gazette.

WM. PENN NOT A SLAVEHOLDER.

In Bancroft's history of the United States, page 403, he says: "William Penn died a slaveholder." As the object of historical record is to transmit to posterity facts, and as they must be collected from sources as various as the facts themselves, it is not a matter of surprise that error instead of truth should sometimes be recorded.

The evidence to which Bancroft refers, is "Watson's Annals," and I apprehend the positive assertion, that "he died a slaveholder," is made on the paragraph which purports to give the history of "Virgil and his wife," page 564. It there mentions there were very aged negroes, well known, who belonged to Wm. Penn, and in consequence of that circumstance, were provided for, and lived at Springitsbury. All this is correct, except their *belonging to Wm. Penn.* In looking over some manuscripts which have come very directly from the Penn family into my possession, I found a bill of sale for this very slave; the bill is dated 26th of 11th mo. 1733, and the following is an exact copy:

"Be it remembered that I, Joseph Warder, of the Falls Township in the County of Bucks, in consideration of fifty pounds current money of Pennsylvania to me in hand, paid by the Hon. Thomas Penn, esq. the rect. whereof I doe hereby acknowledge, Have Bargained Sold and Delivered, and by these presents Doe Bargain Sell and Deliver unto the said Thomas Penn, a certain negro man named Virgil, aged about Twenty Years, To hold to the said Thomas Penn, his Executors, Administrators, and Assigns against Me, the said Joseph Warder, and all Persons Claiming or to Claim the said negro man by any wayes, means or pretense whatsoever. In witness whereof, I have hereunto set my hand and seal this 26th day of the Eleventh Month, (Jan'ry.) Anno Dui 1733–4.

JOSEPH WARDER, [SEAL.]

Witness—James Steel, Henry Roberts."

From this it appears that Virgil did not belong to the Penn family until fifteen years after *Wm. Penn's death*; as that took place in 1718, and he had not been in this country after the year 1709. Thus the character of this good man stands redeemed from the charge of dying a *slaveholder*, unless other proof of it is produced. J.

FIERY FLYING SERPENT, IN SUMATRA.

In the early part of 1833, a native chief of Limo Manis, in the vicinity of Pedang, named Tam Basar, in company with another person, mentioned to Mrs. F. A. Vandenberg and myself, that they had just before seen a serpent flying, and as it was considered dangerous, had killed it. We smiled at them as romancing, but they affirmed positively that they had seen it fly, and offered to take us to it. We accordingly went and examined it; and finding no appendage of the nature of wings, we again laughed at them as attempting to impose on our credulity. They, however, continued positive that they had seen it fly, and explained the mode of flying, by saying it had power to render the under part of the belly concave instead of convex, as far as the ribs extended, whence it derived its support in the air; whilst its propulsion was produced by a motion of the body, similar to that of swimming in water. We, however, continued incredulous, and took no further notice of the circumstance. In January, 1834, I was walking with Mr. P. Rogers, in a forest, near the river Pedang Bessie, about a mile from the spot where the above was killed, when, stopping for a moment to admire an immense tree, covered as with a garment of creepers, I beheld a serpent fly from it, at the height of fifty or sixty feet above the ground, and alight upon another, at the distance of forty fathoms.

Its velocity was rapid as a bird, its motions that of a serpent swimming in the water. It had no appearance of wings. Its course that of a direct line, an inclination of ten or fifteen degrees to the horizon. It appeared to be four feet long. The one killed by the native chief, was about the same length, was of slender proportion, dark colored black, light below, and was not characterized by any peculiarity, which would make it remarkable to a stranger. Thus was I convinced of the existence of flying serpents; and, on inquiry, I found some of the natives, accustomed to the forest, aware of the fact. Those acquainted with the serpent, called it the "Ular tampang hari," (the fiery serpent,) from the burning pain, and mortal effect of its bite; so that the fiery flying serpent of the scriptures, was not an imaginary creature, though it appears now extinct in the regions it formerly inhabited. I have delayed the present notice, in hopes of obtaining a specimen which I could offer as a more convincing proof than my bare assertion; but further delay may possibly, with some, weaken even this testimony on a point which appears to have been long disputed, and which has not been credited by any of the Dutch gentlemen, employed in collecting specimens of the natural history of those parts, to whom I have mentioned it. I learn from the natives, however, that this is not the only species that flies. There is one called "Ular Tadung," with red head, and not exceeding two feet long, seen sometimes about cocoa-trees, whose bite is instantly mortal, and which has the power of flying, or rather leaping the distance of twenty fathoms, for it is described as not having the waving motion through the air of the one I saw.

N. M. WARD.

SOCIAL AFFECTIONS OF ANIMALS.

A professor, in delivering a scientific lecture, related the following anecdote. A horse had become diseased with an ulcer which no remedies could cure, and so he was left in the stable to pine away and die. It happened that a friend paid a visit to the owner, and his horse was put into the same stable. The sick horse appeared more cheerful, and, during the visit, evidently grew better. When the strange horse was taken away, the sick one drooped again. The owner had sagacity enough to catch at the truth, and procured another horse to keep company with his own, whereupon, the sick horse became better again, and, ultimately, well.

A friend has told us the following story: He took passage for a distant voyage. On board the vessel were two small pigs, which consorted together, as the voyage went on, and seemed to take no little comfort in each other's society. One day, the captain directed that one of the pigs should be killed. Our friend objected, on account of the affection of the pigs for each other; but, the captain was unmoved, and one of the pigs, was seized for slaughter. The other, with great anxiety, kept close to his companion, until he saw the blood fly from his neck, when he betook himself to a distant part of the vessel, and skulked. He would afterwards eat nothing, and, in a few days, died.

TWO NEIGHBORS AND THE HENS.

A man in New Jersey told me the following circumstance respecting himself and one of his neighbors:

"I once owned a large flock of hens. I generally kept them shut up. But, one spring, I concluded to let them run in my yard, after I had clipped their wings, so they could not fly. One day, when I came home to dinner, I learned that one of my neighbors had been there full of wrath, to let me know my hens had been in his garden, and that he had killed several of them, and thrown them over into my yard. I was greatly enraged because he had killed my beautiful hens, that I valued so much. I determined, at once, to be revenged, to sue him, or in some way get redress. I sat down and ate my dinner, as calmly as I could. By the time I had finished my meal, I became more cool, and thought that perhaps it was best not to fight with my neighbor about hens, and thereby make him my bitter, lasting enemy. I concluded to try another way, being sure that it would be better.

"After dinner, I went to my neighbor's. He was in his garden. I went out, and found him in pursuit of one of my hens with a club, trying to kill it. I accosted him. He turned upon me, his face inflamed with wrath, and broke out in a great fury—

"'You have abused me. I will kill all your hens, if I can get at them. I never was so abused. My garden is ruined.'

"'I am very sorry for it" said I. 'I did not wish to injure you, and now see that I have made a great mistake in letting out my hens. I ask your forgiveness, and am willing to pay you six times the damage.'

"The man seemed confounded. He did not know what to make of it. He looked up at the sky—then down at the earth—then at his neighbor—then at his club—and then at the poor hen he had been pursuing, and said nothing.

"'Tell me, now,' said I, 'what is the damage, and I will pay you six-fold; and my hens shall trouble you no more. I will leave it entirely to you to say what I shall do. I cannot afford to lose the love and good-will of my neighbors, and quarrel with them, for hens, or anything else.'

"'I am a great fool,' said the neighbor. 'The damage is not worth talking about; and I have more need to compensate you than you me, and to ask your forgiveness than you mine.—*Stories for Children.*

PRIVATE BEGGING.

An Irish mendicant once presented himself at the door of one of the parish manses, in the presbytery of Haddington, and inquired, with an air of mystery, if the minister were at home. The servant said he was, and added, if he had any message for him, she would carry it up. "No;" says the man, "I want to see the master himself." Mr. ——— was accordingly called, and on making his appearance, demanded of Pat the nature of his business. "Och!" says he, glancing a look towards the servant, "I want a word in secret wid yourself, plase your riv'rence." He was accordingly conducted into the minister's study, where, after the door had been carefully shut, he proceeded to unfold his errand in a low whisper. He said, that as he was approaching the village, he observed a notice on the toll-bar, prohibiting public begging within the bounds of the parish, and that he was himself a beggar, but, "Plase your honor," said he, "I do not want to be affher breaking the parish regulations, so I have made bould to spake a word to you in private wid you, hoping that your riv'rence, will be pleased to help a poor Irishman." This was said with such an air of effected secrecy and irresistible drollery, that the clergyman, putting his hand into his pocket, rewarded Pat's inventive wit with the gift of half a crown.—*Edinburg Journal.*

MAHOMETAN AND CHRISTIAN SLAVERY.

Sir J. Malcolm, in his interesting sketches of Persia, says: "Slaves in the Mahometan countries are only liable, for any crimes they may commit, to *half* the punishment to which the freemen would be subject. The law proceeds on the ground of their not being supposed on a par, as to knowledge or social ties, with other parts of the community." The Christian legislators of Christian slave countries, reverse this principle, there being scarcely an offense enumerated in the slave codes, which is not punished with far greater severity on the ignorant and degraded negro, than on the educated white.—Professed Christians may here learn a striking lesson of *justice* from Mussulmen.—*Investigator.*

Miscellaneous Items.

[*Deferred.*]

A Disgraceful Fight.—A correspondent of the Cincinnati Times, at Hamilton, Ohio, says:—"Our court-house has recently been the scene of an outrage, disgraceful not only to the temple of justice, and the actors, but to the second congressional district. During the progress of a case, in which John Woods, the leading member of the bar, and formerly a representative in Congress, and the Hon. John B. Weller, Congressman elect, were engaged, a dispute arose, which, warming the parties, drew a knock-down argument from the Hon. Mr. Weller, and a choking one from his opponent. The parties were fined."

[Mr. Weller is no common character: he moved the censure upon his colleague, Mr. Giddings, at the last hour of the last session, when Mr. G. was gone home. Mr. W. called up the bill to compensate the Florida people for slaves, cigars, &c. seduced and stolen by Gen. Jackson's army in the unauthorized invasion of 1814, a bill which, by the clearest reason, and most authoritative precedent, had been rejected. But many northern members had left, and there remained an unusual proportion of southern ones, and Mr. Weller, with his accustomed zeal to make himself useful to the slaveholders, evidently thought to get a snap vote. Thus are the northern people burdened and abused, through the perfidy of their representatives. This claim was rejected by Mr. Crawford, as secretary of the treasury, in 1820.]

A negro drank a pint of brandy in Richmond, Va. on Saturday, to decide a wager, and was found dead next morning. Legal proceedings are to be instituted, to decide whether the persons who made the bet, and the dealer who supplied the liquor, have not exposed themselves to the serious charge of murder.

The citizens along the line of railroad, near Blissfield, Michigan, assembled, and ploughed up the said road, and sowed it with wheat. This proceeding interrupted the mails.

A person entered the house of Peter Van Loon, esq. of Albany, went to his bed-chamber, took 25 or 30 dollars, and a bunch of keys from his pantaloons, and then proceeded to open every closet and drawer, in the house, overhauling the contents, and taking what he liked. Some of the inmates being at length aroused, the thief was alarmed, and took to flight, dropping two silver cake-baskets in the yard.

Another.—The house of Mr. L. Bush, jr. in Whately, Mass., was broken into, his bedroom entered, and a wallet containing $300, together with notes, taken from the pocket of his pantaloons.

And yet Another.—Mr. Williamson, keeper of a tavern, at Ringoes, N. J. was awakened by the noise of persons in the adjoining room. On his demanding, "Who's there?" a thief stepped into his bedroom, knocked him back in his bed, with the butt of a pistol, seized Mrs. W. and compelled her to be quiet, and then demanded "the $3000, which Mr. W. had lately received." Mrs. W. replied that he had n't received any, and had only $40. "Where is that?" demanded the thief. On being told where, he went and got it, observing, that, if he had known that it was so little, he would not have come for it!

A woman lately died in Richmond, from starvation. A sick child was found with her.

James Cannon was lately found dead in the woods of Michigan, with a jug by his side.

A thief was recently discovered at a house in New Orleans dying of yellow fever, with $500 in gold in his pocket, which he had stolen a few days before.

Lieutenant Wyche, of Virginia, attached to the United States ship Ohio, at Boston, was taken up in a state of insensibility, from cold and other causes, and carried to the watch-house, where he hung himself. An inquest was held upon a view of the body, and found that "he came to his death by hanging himself with his own hands, while in a state of partial derangement, caused by intoxication.

It is stated in the British Mining Journal, that fourteen hundred lives were annually sacrificed by what are termed "mining accidents."

The sentence of suspension passed upon Captain Elliot, has been remitted for the residue of the term by Captain Tyler.

Mitchell, the forger, has been pardoned out of state prison, by Governor Bouck. Reason, poor health!

The *Synod of Utica*, has decided that Presbyterian ministers withdrawing from connection with the churches, are not in *all* cases to be disciplined, but may be erased from the roll where no imputation of wrong would rest upon the Synod, and no harm be done thereby, to the cause of religion. The *Synod of Genesee*, calls upon all who love the sacred institution of the Sabbath, to rally round it.

A Tyler Coat.—We were shown yesterday, says the St. Louis Republican, in the shop of Messrs. Boyle & West, a garment more appropriately named than any we have ever met with in the nomenclature of the tailors or tailoresses. A *Tyler coat* is a coat that may be turned as circumstances require, and worn with either side out. The garment we saw was on the one side French cassimere, of a drab of light color, and on the other, fine pilot cloth of a dark color.

A Tyler *gun* is also reported, which is loaded in the middle and goes off at both ends!

It is stated in the Danville North Star, that the legislature of Vermont had abolished the office of assistant clerk, in order to get rid of the old clerk, Pollard, because he is an *abolitionist*. This seemed strange, and on looking into it, we found that it was because Mr. Pollard was a *third party* man. We do not approve of the proceeding, as we understand it; but let every tub, &c.

"*The Chivalry.*"—A tournament lately came off at White Sulphur Springs. There were sixteen knights in the lists.

These were handsomely mounted; a cord suspended across a considerable area, contained a small ring; each knight had three trials with their lances, in bearing off the ring, and the one who succeeded in bearing it off the greatest number of times, was considered the successful knight. The Knight of Bell Air, was pronounced the victor; the judges made a handsome speech to him, and the queen of beauty crowned him, and so forth.

Miss Vespucci is said to be living at Ogdensburg in a connection, which discloses her real character. A wealthy man, named Parrish, who knew her before she came to this country, lately received her at his residence in Ohio, having gone to meet her with a coach and six.

The Funeral of a Slave.—Our attention was arrested yesterday afternoon, as we were passing through the First Municipality, by a crowd of people collected in front of the dwelling of an old and respectable citizen, and the throng that was incessantly passing in at the door. There was a long line of carriages stretching up the street, of which the head was stationed in front of the house which such numbers were entering. A hearse, decked in its sable funeral plumes, told us that death had been busy in his remorseless task: and we had the curiosity to ask to whom such honors were now paying. We were answered promptly, for all in the neighborhood were aware of the occasion, that a poor slave of the master of that house was about to be carried to her long home. When we saw the venerable gentleman whom she had served enter his carriage, as chief mourner, followed by a long procession, many likewise in carriages, and yet more on foot, we could not but think how injurious to the South, how calumnious are the daily denunciations of the cruelty of the slave system. The remains of that poor servant were honored with burial rites, as respectful and affectionate as the most superstitious could have asked, or the most esteemed have received.—*N. O. Picayune, Oct. 27th.*

[Will this hero of Santa Fé try his hand at describing one of those funerals where the body is thrown into a cart, and *tipped* into a hole? A splendid funeral after one is dead, is poor compensation for being consigned to "the graveyard of mind," while living. We refer Mr. Kendall to J. A. Thome, of Kentucky, for an explanation of what we mean by "graveyard of mind," if he wants explanation.

Wyandotts.—A letter published in the Christian Advocate, from Rev. James Wheeler, dated September 30, represents these poor wanderers in rather a sad condition. They were encamped on the Kansas river, about two miles above its junction with the Missouri. As yet, they have met with no tribe with whom they would like to mingle, and found no spot on which they would like to settle.

Mr. Wheeler states that there was a good deal of sickness among them.

A man named Walter Skillman was found dead, near Rock Mills, Somerset Co. New-York, on Monday the 23d ultimo. On the same morning, and not far from the same place, a man named Van Der Ripe, was found lying on the ground in a dying state: he expired soon after his removal to a house. Both have left respectable families. These men were the most pitiable sots of intemperance, and doubtless staggered away from the grog-shop where they had obtained their liquor, and perished in the storm.

Duke of Bordeaux—Frauds in trade.—Political speculation is rife concerning the long sojourn which the Duke of Bordeaux means to make in Great Britain. It is conjectured that the duke has been advised to keep near at hand for the *crisis* of Louis Philippe's dissolution, when, in the wild scramble for rule, he would have many chances on his side. Nothing can be more fervent and sanguine than the attachment of the legitimist party to this fine youth; they will advance abundant funds for whatever style of life, or forms of expenditure, shall be deemed conducive to their ultimate common success.

Several editorial articles of the National, disclose and reprobate stupendous and deleterious frauds and falsification of both the external and domestic business. Two of the workmen employed for large dealers of Paris, in converting damaged green into black tea, have been brought to the point of death, by the poisoning drugs used by the process. Perquisitions were instituted, which have been attended with appalling discoveries. The National furnishes, likewise, extraordinary details of the recent adulteration of the vast quantity of the wines of the South and of the Loire, regularly stored at Rouen, for the consumption of Paris. Two thousand pipes have been already seized by the authorities. Imposition has been incited by a considerable rise in the prices of wines—Bordeaux, Burgundy, and those of the Loire, and the South generally. The vintage was under bad repute. The water consumed in Paris in diluting wine, for sale, is stated at five hundred thousand *hectolitres*, (measure of one hundred quarts) annually. It is the manufacture, without a drop of the grape of which we may chiefly complain.—*Paris Cor. National Intelligencer.*

TEXAN REVOLUTION.

Republished (with additions) at Washington, D. C., from the Northampton (Mass.) Gazette.

To which is added,—

A LETTER FROM WASHINGTON, ON THE ANNEXATION OF TEXAS, AND THE LATE OUTRAGE IN CALIFORNIA—REPUBLISHED, WITH ADDITIONS, FROM THE LIBERATOR. By Probus.

This is a pamphlet of about 100 large octavo pages. Only a small part consists of the republications; the additions being ten or twelve times larger than the originals. The subjects discussed, are:—

I. The history and merits of the Texan Revolution, under the following heads:

1. The perfidy of the President, and the lawless proceedings of citizens of the United States, who went to Texas "to sow a rebellion."

2. Kindness, hospitality, and generosity of the Mexicans; ingratitude and treachery of the revolutionists.

3. Pretexts of the Revolution. Under this head is a very full account of the political changes which have taken place in Mexico, and of their causes;—the working of the Federative or Federal form of Government, as compared with the Consolidated or Central, in the South American States; a comparative history of *Nullification* in Mexico and the United States; the difference between the South American Federal and Central systems substantially that between our present form of government, and the form proposed by ALEXANDER HAMILTON; the political history of the South American States, and the history and prospects of nullification in the United States, some test of the comparative value of the two systems.

4. Real Causes of the Texan Revolution.

II. The subject of the second Part, or Letter, is the design of annexing Texas to this Union, *at the first session of the next Congress.* The subdivisions of this subject are:—

1. Review of a letter (said to have been, originally, private,) of ex-Governor Gilmer, of Virginia, on the necessity of the speedy annexation of Texas.

2. The principles, speeches, reports, official correspondence, and operations of the leading and confidential friends of John Tyler, in the Cabinet, and in Congress; the alliance between them and the leading members of the democratic party for the extension and perpetuation of slavery and the slave trade, by the acquisition of Texas and California; the outrage committed by Commodore Jones in the latter province, a part, and in execution, of the secret schemes of the cabinet, and a natural result of their spirit and purposes; the ostensible reasons for that outrage examined.

3. The determination and tendency of their policy to bring about a war between the United States of the one part, and Mexico and Great Britain of the other; it being perfectly understood that the former cannot be despoiled of territory fifteen times as large as the State of New-York, and eighty times as large as Massachusetts, without war with Great Britain, as well as with her

4. The Oregon Bill, a part of the said schemes.

5. The questions of *Visitation* and *Search*, on the coast of Africa, for the arrest of slave trading pirates; the actual extent of the slave trade, and its exclusive prosecution under the American flag: the Quintuple and Ashburton Treaties, Gen. Cass's pamphlet and correspondence in France.

6. Negotiations of our government with Mexico for the cession of Texas and California, from the accession of Gen. Jackson to the present time; Character and proceedings of Messrs. Poinsett and Butler, ministers of the United States, in Mexico; suppression, and probable destruction of official documents; *corruption* brought to light; correspondence of Messrs. Webster and Thompson, with Messrs. de Bocanegra and Almonte; *mistranslations*, in our Department of State, and in our Legation at Mexico, of Mexican official documents.

APPENDIX.

1. John Quincy Adams's opinion of the conduct of our government towards Mexico, extracted from his address to his constituents, September 12, 1842.

2. Collection of Proclamations of neutrality, issued by Washington, Jefferson, Madison, Van Buren, and Tyler.

☞ For Sale at this Office.

THE SOCIETY OF FRIENDS.

Upright men shall be astonished at this, and the innocent shall stir up himself against the hypocrite.—*Job. xvii. 8.*

Abhor detraction, the sin of fallen angels, and the worst of fallen men.—*Wm. Penn.*

NARRATIVE of the Proceedings of the Monthly Meeting of New-York, and their Subsequent Confirmation by the Quarterly and Yearly Meetings, in the case of Isaac T. Hopper. Just published, and for sale at this office, No. 143 Nassau street, New-York; and at the Anti-Slavery Office, No. 31 North Fifth street, Philadelphia.

KENNETT SQUARE BOARDING SCHOOL.

For Young Men and Boys.

THIS institution occupies one of the most pleasant and healthy situations in Chester county, Pa. on the mail route between Baltimore and Philadelphia, and about 12 miles northwest of Wilmington, Delaware. With each of the above-mentioned places, there is an easy communication by means of stages.

The course of mathematical instruction will include algebra, geometry, plane and spherical trigonometry, surveying, mensuration, astronomy, &c.

The ordinary branches of an English education, reading, writing, arithmetic, English grammar, geography, history, composition, &c.—will be thoroughly taught. Instruction will also be given in book-keeping, and in the Latin and French languages. The study of Botany will be made thorough and practical—the pupils with their teacher, will make frequent excursions, for the examination of plants, during the season of flowers.

Parents may rest assured that the most careful attention will be paid to the health and morals of the pupils. The neighborhood has acquired no small degree of distinction for its highly intellectual and moral standing.

Scholars, coming from a distance will be expected to board at the institution, where they will be under the constant care of the teacher.

TERMS:—For